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7.

# ISLAMISM:

ITS RISE AND ITS PROGRESS.

OR,

**The Present and Past Condition of the Turks.**

BY

F. A. NEALE,

AUTHOR OF "EIGHT YEARS IN SYRIA."

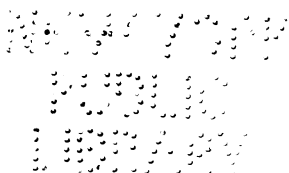
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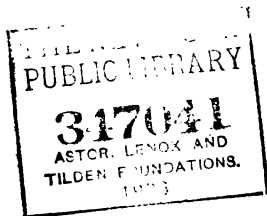
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TO

SIR GEORGE BONHAM, BART., G.C.B.,

ETC., ETC., ETC.

MY DEAR SIR GEORGE,

By an equitable dispensation of every good conferred upon mankind, even authors sometimes find it in their power to indulge their inclinations ; and however humble the dedication, still, like the widow's mite, so long as it is acceptable, it matters not about the striking excellence of the composition or the gorgeous binding of the volume.

Fourteen years have elapsed since first I had the pleasure and honour of forming your acquaintance in that charming and hospitable island, Penang, where you were then governor. The many kind attentions then received at your hands, and the happy hours passed under your hospitable roof, have often in this long interval been vivid to my recollection ; and I longed for an opportunity like the present of putting on record some proof of my thankful unforgetfulness. Since that period I have been sojourner in many lands—in Siam, Sumatra, at the

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Cape, and lastly in the holy land of promise, and in various parts of Turkey; while you have risen to that high position which your many talents and virtues so well qualified you to fill, with advantage to your country and benefit to your fellow-countrymen. I know, from the sentiments entertained by all our friends at Penang, that in thus expressing myself I do but embody their opinions; and now that, after a long and honourable career, you have retired from the government of China, I could not have found a fitter moment for dedicating these pages to yourself; the more especially as your long residence in the East, in the highest official capacities, renders you so efficient a judge of all matters connected with the history laws and religions of the Oriental nations. In dedicating to you this work, permit me also to hope that health happiness and contentment may be the sentinels guarding your path, when the leaf of your years shall be tinted with the hue of the autumn of life.

I remain, my dear Sir George,

Yours ever very truly,

THE AUTHOR.

## P R E F A C E.

---

NEVER having been able to meet with a connected history of Islamism, which uninterruptedly treated of the reigns of the Saracen Caliphs in the East, in North Africa, and Spain, down to the foundation of the Ottoman empire, and following its growth upwards into the reign of Abdul-Medjid, I have endeavoured to form a compilation from different authors, treating at different dates of the separate dominions of Islamism in the east and west. The result of my investigations is the two volumes now submitted to the public. Had I not formed very inadequate notions of the difficulty of my task, I very much question should I have undertaken it ; and had I in its commencement discovered the immense amount of work rising before me, I fear that I should have failed in its perseverance. Then again, the incidents displayed to me by every fresh investigation were teeming with heroic deeds and exploits, such as, together with the age of chivalry, became effaced from the dial-plate of time. Still, the spirit of inquiry once aroused led me on in tracing the career of successive generations ; and the more



ancient the volume, the more precious was the information I have been enabled to glean. But no one can form an adequate conception of the fatigue and annoyance of poring through formidably large and heavy tomes in search of information, when the searcher is obliged to wade through a hundred pages at a time, devoted to the private life and manners of Hadji Kramjaws; a certain Mahometan bard, contemporary with the early Saracen caliphs, a regular attendant at mosque, and the happy possessor of seventeen or eighteen attendant nymphs, besides ever so many wives, and commemorated as the poet who wrote the beautiful verses commencing,—

“ How like two leeches are my Fatima’s eyebrows ; ”

as if everybody in the world ought to and must be familiar with the poem in question, and could appreciate the metaphor and verse as much as do the wild Arabs of the desert. Without any exaggeration, the verse and the prose through which I toiled before arriving at one item really worth preserving, are precisely similar to what I have above recorded. Still, however, I persevered. The huge folios, translated by Don Pascual de Gayangos, gave me much information relative to the Mahometan dynasties in Spain; but I had to be a careful gleaner, and to travel through whole chapters devoted to private individuals and their private doings. Sandys, De Busbequius, Mills, Taylor, and Irving, all helped materially in arranging data; but the great work—

the connecting link in the whole history—was a huge old tome, which the merest chance threw in my way, just at the moment that I most required it;—this was the history of the Ottoman Sultans, from the year 1300 to the siege of Vienna, in 1683, by Prince Demetrius Cantemir, of Moldavia, who was ten years old when the siege took place. With the assistance of this book, besides several others, I flatter myself that I have achieved what I have intended—a history which hardly wants a link in its consecutive eras and reigns. I have followed the Saracens into Spain; the Mahometans of Spain into exile amongst their fellow-believers in North Africa, whence most probably they migrated internally; and their descendants are possibly at this day amongst the Sheiks of Timbuctoo, where Doctor Barthe may have by this time made their acquaintance. I have followed them into India, returned with them to Egypt and Baghdad, and traced their final overthrow and the accession of the present Mahometan power in Turkey; and in all this I have been careful, at the same time that I endeavoured not to lose sight of the immediate history of the various sultans, to intersperse the pages of this work with anecdote, to combine, if possible, an easy style with the drier discussion indispensably linked with history; and to blot out the more shocking incidents of rapine and bloodshed, substituting such amusing incidents as presented themselves to me.

At this moment, when the attention of Europe is

engrossed with Russia and Turkey, my volumes will, I trust, be acceptable to the generality of readers, and be favoured by a verdict such as may recompense the labour spent in their compilation. To find it acknowledged as an instructive work would adequately reward me for all my researches.

F. A. N.

*London, June, 1854.*

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## CHAPTER I.

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Two men were travelling in the far East. The oppressive heat of noon was such as can only be experienced in those arid and sterile regions which lie between the countries, at the one side bordering on the Red Sea, at the other terminating on the confines of the land of Holy Promise. Toil-worn and wearied, they hailed with delight the near approach of one of those Oases, which a careful Providence has scattered like bright gems over the wilderness of dreary sand, to recal to the sinking hopes of man some recollection of those happier days, when sin was yet a stranger to the earth, and the only home that man knew was Paradise, in Eden.

The waters flowed silently from a priceless spring, overshadowed by stately palms, under whose foliage many a weary pilgrim had rested from the heat and toil of travel. On the present occasion, as our travellers neared the desired haven of repose, a solitary horseman approached from the outskirts of the opposite desert, seeking, like themselves, rest and protec-

tion from that mid-day hour. Under one shady tree the travellers spread their carpets, and, having interchanged the usual eastern compliments, each betook himself to the equally usual eastern indulgence of a siesta; and when refreshed, conversation began to flow as rapidly as the waters of that pleasant spring.

The stranger was a man of middle stature, and, as he wrapped round him the loose folds of his horse-hair meshlah, there was that in his deep and penetrating eye which seemed to bespeak more subtle cunning—more of this world's deceptive learning, than are usually possessed by those wild sons of the desert. As yet had hardly subsided the new and startling effect of that creed, introduced six centuries before these travellers' meeting, when the shepherds from Bethlehem were led by a brighter star to that lowly manger, where Joseph the carpenter's wife carefully nurtured that infant Son, from whom was to emanate the proudest title of a people pre-eminently civilized, whose laws and theory were founded upon the practices of his life, unblemished as it was, and so perfectly void of that unhappy taint which the first downfall of man has introduced into universal nature.

As a natural result, the conversation turned towards the all-engrossing topics of those days. Christianity, though yet in its infancy, had too often been subverted by the wily craft of priesthood. Antichrist, of whom the Saviour's disciples had been so often warned, was now on earth; and that dark-bearded stranger, who travelled alone, and unaided, was yet to rise to fame, unparalleled in the history of man—only to be surpassed in the history of the

Son of God ; working upon the imagination and belief of millions of his fellow-creatures ; establishing a reputation, only inferior to that accorded to the Deity of the Universe ; and, despite almost insuperable difficulties, spreading a creed, at the point of the sword, from the comparatively civilized countries of Spain to the extreme frontiers of Eastern Asia—even till the Malayan principalities received and acknowledged the Koran as their gospel. That stranger was the impostor Mahomet !

From all that can be gleaned of his early history, it is evident that his first impressions of religion were derived from the tuition of monks, with whom he had mingled at Jerusalem. With that peculiar instinct, which discriminates between the chaff and the pith of a theory, Mahomet had intelligence sufficient to derive, from the doctrines of the Christian religion, just so much essential formula as might form the basis of a creed, founded partly upon the Mosaic law, yet containing privileges well adapted to the climate, and to the people he had to deal with. Thus the proselytes to this new faith were taught to reverence the patriarchs of the Judaical Scriptures, with a like reverence as was offered by the Jews themselves.

Abraham and his successors—Moses, Noah, and our first parents—are recognized by the Mahometan ; even to the Messiah a prophetic origin is accorded ; yet, strange to say, from the very earliest periods of Islamism, a deadly conflict has been waged by Mahometans against their Hebrew neighbours ; till the most offensive epithet applicable to a base-born slave is, to term him a Jew. I remark this, as

the more notable from the singularity of the Jews denying, in common with the Turks, the divinity of the Messiah, at the same time that they mutually acknowledge the existence of every other remarkable character to which reference is made in the Old Testament.

Mahomet, with the wisdom which education implants in minds capable like his own, saw at one glance the errors which priestcraft had introduced into a religion, pure as it was holy : at the same time he understood how to conciliate a people free by birth and nature, whose cities had no fixed sites, and whose homes might be said to be the inclination of the moment. When Abraham extorted a blessing from the Almighty upon his first-born son, Ishmael, God pronounced him blessed in these words—"I will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly : " and so they have continued till the present day, a roving, hardy race, subservient only to their own sheiks—subject to no imposts—tributary to no ruler—inured from infancy to all the hardships to be encountered in a land desolate of aspect—arid, as regards cultivation, and where no permanent cities may be said to exist.

It was two of these descendants of Ishmael whom the impostor encountered on the memorable day to which we have already alluded ; and, under the grateful shade of those palms, he expounded to them the startling doctrines, which were hereafter to become the basis of the Mahometan religion. He well knew the class of men he had to deal with, and how welcome, to a debased state of civilization, was the accordance of certain privileges not compatible with

the Christian religion. Like a careful gleaner had he sifted the more weighty matters of the Mosaic law—to fear God, respect your neighbour's interest, reverence your parents and superiors, and pay homage to the ruling powers. These were indispensable rules for the self-government of any people; but, at the same time that these were to be enforced, he pandered to the natural inclinations of the people, by permitting indulgences in certain venial vices, which well agreed with the climate and the propensities of their wild and uncultivated minds; such, for instance, as the toleration of polygamy and the maintenance of concubines. As an undeniable precedent, he had only to quote the instances illustrated by the lives of the patriarchs down to the days of Solomon; to refer to their own immediate predecessors; and to remind his listeners that Ishmael himself was a son of shame—such arguments were to them as acceptable as they were apparently undeniable:—but, while he held forth the like seductive arguments, Mahomet had even then seen too much of the world not to be aware that the vice of intemperance would infallibly lead to civil discord, and prove an insurmountable barrier to his well-laid schemes of ambition. Those wild men of the desert were naturally of a temperate constitution; the extreme heat of the climate—the rarity of any cultivated ground—the total absence of vineyards—all these combined to banish from the tent of the Arab any of those luxuries and indulgences, which, though originally intended as a boon and a blessing by an All-provident Creator, have too often recoiled as a curse upon the head of the improvident creature. Wine was a luxury, if not unheard of, at



least but little known about the regions of Medina and Mecca. Its abrogation was no painful ordinance. Apart from the scarcity of such an article, the temperature of the Arabian blood in those latitudes would not allow the introduction of any stimulant. Water, ever scarce and ever sought after, was the natural and most refreshing draught to quench the intense thirst of a people, whose best-constructed tents barely afforded an average temperature of 95° Fahrenheit. It was, therefore, no loss to them that one of the stringent articles of the new faith was a total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors.

Mahomet prohibited in the Koran the use of wine: and, if he earned no further advantage, the prophet at least secured to himself the guardianship of sobriety, and he felt secure from those besotted outbreaks which have ever been a stain upon countries whose civilization has been acknowledged and eulogized;—in short, while speaking of the impostor, we may recognize in him an inculcator of the views promulgated in our own century by the highly-esteemed Father Matthew. But while Mahomet aimed at the moral aggrandizement of a people eventually to be called his disciples, he was careful not to neglect their physical strength; acting doubtless upon the same wise precaution that induced Moses to deliver certain instructions with regard to the diet of the children of Israel. Mahomet, who is said in his younger days to have acquired some small knowledge of the sanitary science, prohibited to his followers the use of swine's flesh, and other meat, alike injurious in climates similar to those which his proselytes inhabited; but the grand charm held forth

by the new doctrines was, the prospect of certain happiness in the life to come. Mingled, as were all other creeds, with a fearful display of the punishments awaiting those who should disobey the strict letter of the law, it was a glorious prospect to such untutored minds to find, in the revelations of the impostor prophet, an assured prospect of a blissful eternity, while, at the same time, many of those earthly enjoyments, which are supposed with us to alienate the affections from our higher duty, were to them accorded as a natural and inseparable right.

So conversed the travellers; and the more the untutored Arabs hearkened to the rhetoric of this extraordinary man, the more were they disposed to believe that his doctrines were such as well accorded with the people of their country; and, if they did not rest implicit belief in the inspired mission of the prophet, they at least found that it accorded well with their own notions of dignity and enjoyment; and the family of Mahomet were so far distinguished as to obtain consideration and command respect. Thus these three travellers journeyed on, and the farther they progressed the more strongly were inculcated the doctrines of Mahomet upon his listeners. That solitary grove, where the palm leaves sheltered the wayfarers, where the cool spring slaked the thirst of the parched son of the desert, there was promulgated that enormous figment, which has since led to the conversion of one half the Oriental world from a state of paganism, to what may be termed a false, but connecting, link between Atheism and Christianity.

In April, 569, Mahomet entered upon his career of

life, descended from the tribe of Koreish—which undoubtedly is the origin of the derivation of the term Koran. His immediate progenitor was Haschem; a benefactor to Mecca—where, from almost time immemorial, a shrine had existed for the worship of what the Athenians had termed an “unknown God.” Their traditions were fabulous in the extreme. With regard to Mecca and the Caaba, it was pretended that, when our first parents were expelled from Eden, they were cast forth on two distinct portions of the globe,—Adam alighting on what is now called Adam’s Peak, a lofty and singular mountain in central Ceylon, where the remarkable indenture, similar to a gigantic footstep, has impressed more forcibly the tradition upon the minds of the simple inhabitants. Our first mother was hurled upon the present site of Jedda; and, for a period of upwards of two centuries, they were compelled to wander apart—almost, if not equally, as accursed as that unhappy offspring of the first murderer, whose crime made the virgin earth appeal to heaven for retribution. It is needless to say that the early life of Mahomet was mingled with a great deal of fabulous tradition. Abed-Allah, the youngest and best beloved son of Abed-al-Motalleb, married Amina, of the same illustrious stock of Koreish. Irving, in his admirable work, “Mahomet and his Successors,” quotes a tradition as superbly ludicrous as it is eminently a pattern of the flowers of Oriental romance; for, says he, “so strikingly handsome was the father of the prophet, that, on the very night upon which his nuptials were celebrated with Amina, two hundred virgins of the same tribe expired of broken hearts.” But if his beauty was

eminent, it was also, unhappily, transient; for no sooner had the young wife given birth to this precocious infant, than Abed-Allah paid the tribute of life, and Amina, broken-hearted under the heavy stroke dealt upon her affections, was forced, unwillingly, to submit the nurturing of the infant prophet to the care of an entire stranger. The extreme poverty of Mahomet's family rendered it almost impossible for Amina to hire a nurse. Compassion, however, induced Halema, the wife of a shepherd, to care for the youthful prophet; and, before she had weaned him from her affections, the fair and gentle Amina was counted amongst the dead, and Mahomet was an orphan, portionless, uncared for, and yet destined to rise to such a pinnacle of fame, as has given superhuman courage to his disciples, and enabled the Turk of the present century to cry aloud with fanatical enthusiasm, "Allah Ackbar, La-illah-la, Ashoud-anah, Mahomet-a-resoul-Allah!—There is no God but God, and Mahomet is his Prophet!"

Such was the prophet in his younger years, yet of a precocious temperament. He had barely attained his twelfth year before his fame as a being of unusual genius began to be acknowledged. It was then that his uncle, an enterprising merchant, readily granted the youth permission to accompany him on a mercantile pilgrimage to the countries about Jerusalem. It was in this journey that was related one of those romantic traditions, which have since been recorded as undeniable facts, in the untruthful Koran:—A race of men of a giant stature became idolaters; and Saleh, a self-accounted prophet, declared himself to be sent on a holy mission. Their

idolatry prevailed; and they sought, like the Israelites of old, for some miraculous proof of the so-called prophet's inspiration; and, like Moses, Saleh is declared to have struck the rock; when, in lieu of the waters that then gushed out, a she-camel, big with young, came forth, and was immediately delivered of her progeny. This camel so much interfered with the other animals then employed by these people, that they ultimately destroyed her; which act brought down upon them the vengeance of the Almighty. A fearful cry issued from heaven, accompanied with claps of thunder, and the next morning the whole of this unbelieving people were swept to perdition. Such was the tale eagerly embraced by the enthusiastic youth; and upon such was hereafter to be founded the basis of that faith whose crescent-signal was to prove the basis of a religion, most startling in its results, most effectual in its proselytism among heathen nations, and one which, like a prototype of that ancient kingly race, the Pharaohs of Egypt, appears to be a people permitted by the Almighty to enjoy, for a certain period, an invincible sway, only to demonstrate, as did that unhappy king, the inscrutable irresistible power of The Being who pronounced all things founded by his infinite wisdom to be excellent, and who has chosen to create men like that proud king, to be instruments of his power; who, when he created our first parents, and placed them in the enjoyment of every luxury that earth can afford—a free will, and disposition to act by the dictates of that mysterious conscience which, happily for us, has been ever appealing to the better dictates of our hearts, and ever opposed

to Satan's unnatural impulse. Thus it was that Mahomet, the insignificant son of insignificant parents, appears to have been chosen to promulgate idolatrous ideas; which through the space of centuries were to enjoy a tolerance, earned by the prowess of its own disciples, destined, at one period, to set at nought the combined Christian forces of the crusade; and, finally, as far as human insight can foresee, prescribed to be a people by whose fall paganism may be utterly annihilated, and one of earth's greatest nations erased from the map of the world. So fell Rome, a country unrivalled in earthly civilization. Her authors and her statutes are still held up as a memento, only to prove that the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light. So sunk Greece, that vast empire of intelligence, where men, like bright stars, arose upon the horizon of human information, and, leaving us a few rays of brighter intelligence, has dropped into the waters of oblivion's ocean. Like these, has risen our later prophet's nations—like these, the sword has carried far and wide the triumphal crescent. - Most true, we owe not even one iota of literature to the present race of Turks, but we owe something as regards the laws of military defence. They have risen to be a people who could set the combined powers of Europe at defiance. Crowned heads and princes have found in the Turk that unconquerable bravery, which is well recorded as a triumphant token for such men as Cæsar, Alexander, and Napoleon. Yet Turkey has now sunk into deplorable insignificance; the enthusiasm of the prophet has gradually subsided.

Would you know the cause of this her calamity? Rome flourished and fell in idolatry—Greece was a pagan country—Turkey has misconstrued and subverted the best doctrines of a Christian's God, comprising therein charity and its attendant blessings, to the peculiar and selfish edicts of one clever but unprincipled impostor. The man Mahomet has left an undying name behind him, but the Man Christ has left an undying reputation; the one for vice and ignorance—the other for virtue and excellence;—and, where God's holy religion is not made its foundation-stone, sooner or later that kingdom will assuredly fall.

## CHAPTER II.

Romance of early history—The Prophet's first wife—Chance favours his ambition—Gradual rise and persecution of the Prophet—Spread of Islamism—Prophet's death and burial—Accession of Abu-Beker, first caliph—Suppression of rival prophets—First expeditionary army of the Islams—Fall of Hira and conquest of Damascus.

WHEN we last left Mahomet we supposed him to be travelling in the company of two of the earliest proselytes to his new faith. Though there is much of romance in the earlier history of the prophet, as recorded by Arabian historians, such matter has been fully and ably brought before the public by learned biographers. It is our intention only to treat generally of the career of this extraordinary man, and of his successors, who have played so marvellous a part through centuries of time over the eastern hemisphere.

Mahomet's first wife was Cadijah—a woman in her fortieth year when she bestowed her hand and fortune upon the then youthful adventurer. There is every reason to suppose that Cadijah retained no particle of those charms which she is said to have possessed in her youth; for, in climes where girls are mothers at thirteen, it too often occurs that their appearance and constitution at forty are equivalent to three-score: but Cadijah possessed the more intrinsic charms of an opulent dowry; and the needy



adventurer had far too much ambition to hesitate in embracing an opportunity so favourable to the furtherance of his schemes. The nuptials were speedily celebrated, and Mahomet was advanced to a par with the wealthiest and most influential citizens of Mecca. Here he soon acquired the flattering title of Al-Amin, or The Faithful. The next step towards importance was occasioned by the accidental burning of the Caaba. The chiefs, disputing among themselves, agreed, that whoever should enter first by the gate Al-haram, should be entitled to the distinguished privilege of replacing the sacred black stone ; and the lot fell upon Mahomet.

From this period, gradually but certainly, Mahomet rose in importance and reputation, till, in his fortieth year, he pretended to have received that revelation which was hereafter to introduce him to a superstitious and ignorant people, in the inspired character of a prophet. Still, like a cautious general, he is said carefully to have forborne confiding his intentions to any save the members of his own family ; and his first convert was a servant named Zeid, supposed to be the same now renowned amongst the faithful, as the first combatant who struck a blow for the cause of Islam. Secretly and cautiously the new faith was promulgated, and meetings were held in recesses and caverns to initiate the new proselytes in the forms and doctrines of their creed : but Mahomet had bitter and powerful opponents in some of his more immediate connexions, and many were the scenes of brawl and bloodshed occasioned by these sectarian meetings ; till, finally, he determined to promulgate publicly

his so-called inspired mission; and the hills of Safa and Kubis, said to have been the resort of Hagar and Ishmael, became his favourite retirement. Here he preached enthusiastically to equally enthusiastic multitudes; the Koran was delivered by piecemeal; and then may be said to have been securely laid the foundation-stones of those lofty and elegant structures, from whose summits, through upwards of a thousand years, were, at stated hours both by day and night, to be proclaimed aloud that chant, which even at the present hour resounds with startling yet musical effect through the still night air of Arabia, summoning the faithful to prayer, as being a more necessary occupation than any other imposed upon the sons of men. The minarets glittered in the bright morning sun of that distant and far-famed land of Arabia—the crescent banner was unfurled, and fluttered proudly in the morning breeze, whilst Islamism sat firmly enthroned upon the wreck of the earliest Arabian paganism.

We pass over, without farther reference, the few remaining years of the prophet's life. To him are of course ascribed many miraculous exploits and hair-breadth escapes, in those two very cities, Medina and Mecca, which were hereafter to become the point of attraction to hundreds and thousands of the descendants of his early persecutors, from the fact of their being by them revered—one, as the birth-place, the other as containing the ashes of the prophet: but it is a remarkable coincidence, related by early historians, that on one occasion, in a case of emergency, Mahomet was induced to apply to a

Jewish tribe, the Beni-nadher, who then inhabited the country about Medina, for their mediation, in arranging a dispute which had been attended with bloodshed between some early Moslems and another Jewish tribe. Treachery was resorted to by the Beni-nadher; and it is said that the prophet, who was by them invited to be present at a feast, more amicably to arrange matters, discovered in time their intention, and fled to Medina. It would seem as though the innate hatred ever since existing between the prophet's descendants and the Hebrew race might trace its origin to this act of treachery. Before Mahomet terminated his career he was several times espoused; marrying the daughters, in most instances, of persons best suited to further his views of aggrandizement; though to this rule there were one or two exceptions, which seemed to prove that, however inspired by his prophetic mission, he was not beyond the taints or the failings of the rest of humanity. Some time before his death, he was sufficiently ingenious to cause the report to be spread amongst his followers, that God had given him the choice of remaining for ever upon earth, or of returning to celestial enjoyment, and that he had accepted the latter: but before that period arrived, when Mahomet, like all the rest of animate nature, met with the doom of sin, his followers had wonderfully increased. Even from that early period the creed of Islamism had been enforced at the point of the sword, and the whole of Arabia might have been considered under the sway of the prophet and his doctrines. Nor did Palestine and Syria escape the ambitious grasp of Mahomet. But what, perhaps,

most embittered his latter days was, that even his imposture did not escape rivalry; since two other prophets arose to dispute with him the chieftdom of Arabia. These were, Al-Aswad and Moseilma—the former of whom was a sharp-witted and intelligent knave, more apt to become a formidable rival of Mahomet than was the latter—who proposed to Mahomet an equal division of the world, and received in reply an answer, headed, “From Mahomet, the Prophet of God, to Moseilma the Liar,” and briefly declining the arrangement proposed to him.

The three parting commands of Mahomet before his death were, to expel all idolaters from Arabia, to accord equal privileges to all proselytes, and to devote themselves to prayer. So died the fabricator of this enormous imposture, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the eleventh of the Hegira, equivalent to the year of our Lord six hundred and thirty-two. There was some disturbance between Mecca and Medina as to which city had the most legitimate claim to his sepulture, finally terminating in favour of the Medinites; most probably from the fact of the retention of the corpse above earth for three days and three nights, in a climate where the delay of a few hours only is endurable. Accordingly, the prophet was buried under the very spot where he breathed his last, and over which has been erected that celebrated mausoleum, in which, according to eastern tradition, the coffin is supernaturally suspended midway between the ceiling and the floor. After some little contention, the choice of his successor fell upon Abu-Beker, one of the staunchest

and earliest friends of the prophet, and who, with a wise and far-sighted policy—though both extreme spiritual and temporal power were accorded him by the unanimous voice of the people—contented himself with the simple title of Caliph, or successor; and was, consequently, first of that long line of powerful despots, who gradually assumed to themselves powers and privileges never intended by the originator of their race, and reigned with such costly magnificence, originally at Medina and Damascus, and finally at Bagdad (where the title became extinct), as to become blended with our earliest associations of terrible and romantic deeds, such as are recorded in the “Thousand and One Nights” of Arabia. Abu-Beker proved himself a congenial successor to the prophet’s ambition. His first act was to appoint Khaled-Abu-Waled to suppress, with the sword of Islam, all the petty revolts that had broken out in Arabia, both immediately before and after the prophet’s demise. Khaled was a fearless but cruel and impolitic commander; not only did he suppress the revolters, but he may be said to have almost exterminated them. His war-cry was, “*No quarter given, and none received!*” So that barely had Islamism been established a score of years, before that reign of terror and bloodshed commenced, which was to burn like a consuming brand, unquenched and unquenchable, through ages of rapine and bloodshed. On the crescent flag of Khaled and of his successors, war and destruction were emblazoned, and all Europe was yet destined to tremble at the very name and deeds of these Saladinic chiefs. Khaled, after restoring peace in the immediate dominions of Abu-Beker,

sought out the haunts of the rival prophet, Moseilma, and slew him in the very earliest engagement. With Moseilma's death, perfect order was restored to the Islam empire ; and all this was accomplished within the first year of the caliphate. .

A whole year of peace was enjoyed by Abu-Beker and his subjects : the former was actively occupied in compiling a careful edition of the Koran—the latter in receiving instruction in the faith of Islam, and in spreading that faith amongst their immediate neighbours. Few nations were more inured to the hardships inseparable from Oriental warfare than the dwellers in Arabia Felix and Petræa, all of whom had at this period embraced Islamism ;—a wild, fierce, and brave people, who fought under Superstition's banners ; whose wild imaginations had been inflamed by its brilliant portraitures of the bliss accorded to the faithful in the Koran ; who had no cities to lose ; whose coursers were the fleetest in the world ; who had everything to gain by victory, and nothing to lose by defeat ; whose secret and inaccessible hoarding-places, in rocky cities, or in deserts untraversable by all but themselves, defied pursuit. Fearful enemies were these to encounter upon the confines of their own territory ; and the late wars between Persia and the Byzantine emperors had left the frontiers embarrassed and exhausted. One of Mahomet's strictest injunctions to his disciples was, that they should with every opportunity urge forward at the sword's point their faith and power, until the whole world should be subservient to the Crescent's rule. Such an opportunity as Syria then offered was not neglected by Abu-Beker. He dispatched a power-

ful force, under the command of Yezed, with injunctions that they should treat each other with kindness and consideration, spurn cowardice, never injure animal or vegetable life, or lay waste plantations and fields; but, well remembering the unquenchable hatred entertained by Mahomet towards certain monks in the Holy Land, Abu-Beker wound up his exhortation in these remarkable words: "Should you meet with a class of unbelievers, who go about with shaven crowns, be sure that you cleave their skulls." A mild suggestion, which we may readily believe was executed to the letter by the soldiers of Islam. Yezed, arriving on the confines of Syria, encountered and defeated a large body of troops, sent out by Heraclius to observe his movements; immense booty was continually being dispatched to Medina; and the effect of this was another levy of troops to follow in the footsteps of Yezed;—the latter were to march upon Palestine, one wing was destined for Damascus, others for countries bordering upon the Jordan, and all so placed as to be able to act in conjunction with each other. Thus the Roman possessions in Syria were besieged, and the first tribute ever enforced by the Islams, was by Khaled in his first decisive victory over Hira. All the forces dispatched were not however equally successful. Abu-Obidah, who was commander-in-chief of the Syrian expedition, could not prevail against the forces of Heraclius; but Khaled made ample amends, never having presented himself before the armies and towns of the besieged without ultimate success.

By far, however, the most fearful contest was the prolonged siege of Damascus, with fluctuating for-

tune on both sides, and immense loss of life to Christian and Mahometan. An instance is here quoted of the romantic bravery of an Islamite damsel, named Caullah, who, in one of the skirmishes, was taken prisoner by the Christians. Flushed with their success, these latter were carousing in their tents close by the gates of Damascus, when Caullah urged on her sisters in captivity to arm themselves with tent poles, imploring them to strike firmly and with aim at the heads of any who approached within reach. Caullah, with her pole, was the first to commence action; and a Greek soldier had his skull shattered for his imprudence in approaching this Amazon. A general conflict ensued, when Khaled, and other Mahometan troops, galloped in to the rescue, and carried off the captured damsels. In short, so fierce and equal was the contest between the Saracen and Christian power, that more than a year elapsed before the former gained possession of the city; and even then it was only obtained through the treachery of some of the inhabitants. This may be termed the first of the triumphs of Islam (the conquered countries have yet to be enumerated); and on the very day on which Damascus fell under the sway of Islamism the first of the caliphs expired. Abu-Beker did not live to learn the stirring intelligence, that Shâm, the fairest city of the East, celebrated through ages by Arabian historians and poets, as indisputably the garden of Syria—the Eden of the world—was in the possession of his warlike followers. But what must, on the one hand, have been the enthusiasm and delight of the victors, and, on the other, the dejection and sorrow of the



captives, can only be conceived, when imagination pictures the beauties of the landscape, the salubrity of the climate, and the abundance of all the good things of this life at Damascus. The wild sons of the desert—who had heretofore opened their eyes only to the intense glare of an Arabian sunrise to gaze forth on boundless tracks of sand, interspersed here and there with isolated clusters of palm trees—afflicted with heat and thirst—tormented by gnats and flies through weary and fatiguing journeys over arid plains, in search of pasturage for their horses, and springs to slake insufferable thirst—woke up the morning after their victory, having slept on beds of down, and slumbered only as men slumber after many nights of weary watching and days of hardy warfare. Think you what must have been the Arab's sensation of delight, to wake up on that memorable morning to the cooing of the turtle dove and the murmuring of the thousand streamlets and cascades which surrounded each household; or, while listening to these, how must he have welcomed the fresh morning breeze, laden as it came with all the fragrance of the early day—the rose and the jessamine, the orange flower and the violet! All these were a strange and delightful confusion to his senses—a dream of heavenly bliss heretofore undreamed; and, as he leaped forth with life and vigour from his couch, and gazed out from the lofty trellised window upon the scene beneath him, watching the blue clouds, gradually tinged with the purple light of morn, casting more beauteous hues upon hill, and valley, and dale—the tall poplars crowned with gold—the deep green orange leaf,

hung with snowy blossoms,—whilst graceful vines clambered up the wall-side even to the window-sill, temptingly offering the choicest purple fruit to quench his earliest thirst—bees humming around—birds carolling from every tree;—and last, though not least, when he gazed upon the sorrowful, but incomparably beautiful faces of the unhappy daughters of this land—then must these sons of fiery Arabia, these disciples of a new faith, have imagined themselves to have attained the Paradise, so voluptuously pictured by their prophet in his Koran; and, while slow to believe the reality, when that faith came, and they discovered, from hearsay, that this was only part of the whole of that beautiful country to the north of Syria, its effect was but to nerve their arms for conquest, to treble their reliance on the false creed of the impostor, and, above all, to render them indifferent to life or to death while in the service of the caliphate: for, said they, if Islams even upon earth are permitted to conquer and to enjoy such fair Edens, what must that fairer Paradise prove, which will be the sure portion of all true believers? But, however fully possessed with like enthusiasm, Abu-Obidah, fearful of the enervating influences of boundless luxury and enjoyments, and knowing that there was yet much work in the field, to be accomplished before the sword of Mahomet could be returned to its sheath, speedily quitted these fair parts, intent upon further conquest. The wild sons of the desert awoke as from a pleasant but brief dream to the war-cry of Allah-Akbar, and, springing into their saddles, galloped forth to new scenes of action.

Meanwhile, Omar had been duly installed at Mecca, as the second caliph of the empire. His policy was more for peace and mercy, and he entirely disapproved of the outrages committed by the conquerors of Damascus, stating it as his decided opinion, that that city had yielded more by stipulation than from any force of arms or prowess on the part of the soldiers of the caliphate.

## CHAPTER III.

Panic amongst the Christians—Reasons why the Islam arms prevailed—Order of conquests—Fall of Baalbec—Terms enforced—The siege and capture of Jerusalem—Law concerning renegades—Arrival of Omar—Harsh terms of capitulation—The word of prophecy.

THE panic occasioned throughout Syria, when the startling intelligence of the capitulation of Damascus was bruited about, is more easily to be conceived than described; it has a parallel only in the early history of the Jews, whose prowess during their first conquests in this identical country spread consternation amongst the neighbouring petty principalities of aboriginal idolaters. Yet, even in their case, the numbers were overwhelming; for the Israelites were as the sand on the sea shore, and their progress from city to city was slow, though successful; but, in the instance of these early Mahometan invaders, the last fear which the tranquil security of the Christians of Damascus had to entertain, was invasion from that quarter, much less such a fearful catastrophe as had befallen their city. The wild sons of the desert—in apt imitation of those fitful whirlwinds which sweep ever and anon the arid deserts of Arabia, stealing rapidly upon the unwary traveller, seemingly a handful of dust thrown up against the bright outlines of

the distant horizon, yet proving a stupendous hurricane of wind and sand, as fleet in its onward career as it has too often proved fatal—so swept these wild Arabians, comparatively few in number, yet fearful in their prowess, marching from city to city, with almost incredible speed, even that the cry could hardly be raised, “Lo, the Saracens be upon us!” before a city was besieged and taken, the unhappy inhabitants pillaged, and subjected to every other barbarity that the cruelty of rapine and war could suggest. One immediate cause of the invariable success of the Islamite soldiers, was their habits of temperance and extreme frugality, both as regards raiment and diet; the coarsest clothes, rudely manufactured, sufficed for the former; water, a few dried fruits, and hard-baked cakes, constituted the latter. It was, therefore, not necessary that the invading troops should be encumbered with any baggage. Ammunition was unknown; and each man carried behind his saddle just sufficient sustenance for man and beast from one day to another. Hence there were no delays in preparing for the longest marches at a minute’s warning; and certes, there was no failure of such requisites as the frugal wants of the Arabs demanded. The country through which they were passing was proverbially a land flowing with milk and honey. Were they in a mountainous district? Springs and rivulets gushed by in every direction, serving to slake the thirst of the Arab and his mare; while gigantic terraces, hewn out of the mountain sides, were thickly spread with the most prolific vines and abundance of olive trees. Were they in the plains? Field after field of wheat was found and passed day after day;

and did these hardy children of a hotter soil seek repose or refreshment, during the noontide they bivouacked close beside some of those glorious gardens of Syria, where the fig and the nectarine, the apricot and the melon, with twenty other delicious species of fruit, vied with each other in beauty of tint and in excellence of flavour. Such was the country, now fast falling under the disciples or followers of the prophet, though at the same period that Damascus fell under the sway of the Islams, their arms were making considerable progress, and gaining victories in other powerful empires in the east. It is our purpose to enumerate these conquests, not so much with reference to their respective dates, as to the order of succession in which these countries follow with regard to their proximity to the head-quarters of Islamism in Arabia. With this intent we may proceed to a brief description of the next important victories of the Saracens in Palestine and Syria. First on this list came Baalbec, then the metropolis of that vast fertile valley situated between the two Lebanons, and known to the Greeks as Heliopolis. Abu Obeidah here again intercepted rich booty, in the shape of silks and other commodities, destined for the consumption of that city : but the merchants, accompanying this caravan, were set free ; and Herbis, the then governor, sallying forth to revenge the loss, was utterly routed by the Islams. The Mahometan commander-in-chief summoned the garrison to yield under the usual stipulations—either to embrace Islamism, or submit to an annual taxation. These propositions were scornfully rejected, and a fierce struggle ensued, wherein the Moslems were fre-

quently worsted ; but eventually the whole fortune of the field was changed by mere accident. One of the Islam officers, having been too severely wounded to continue to take any active part in the engagement, succeeded in reaching the summit of a neighbouring height, which commanded an uninterrupted view of the battle field ; whence, perceiving that the position occupied by Abu Obeidah was in imminent peril of being carried by a sudden and unexpected sally made by the besieged, this Islam resorted to the well-known signal practised amongst themselves in times of warfare and danger ; and, collecting some withered boughs and brushwood, he set fire to them. The white smoke rose like a palpable column against the clear blue sky of that cloudless morning. Not a breath stirred even the loftier branches of the stately trees which overtopped those high hill sides. The allies of Abu Obeidah, perceiving the beacon-light, galloped with their forces to the rescue of their harassed commander ; and the sudden and unexpected appearance of this powerful auxiliary completely changed the fortunes of the day ; and the enemy were glad in a precipitate retreat to strengthen their perilous position by gaining the summit of a hill, where they concealed themselves in a ruined convent, and took counsel how best to extricate their men from this difficulty. They ineffectually endeavoured to fight their way back to the city, but were forced to retire again to the monastery, not, however, before much bloodshed on both sides ; and Herbis, finding himself and his few brave followers destitute of provision, and entirely penned in on all sides by the enemy, was forced to bend his haughty spirit, and

seek mercy from those very people whom he had only that morning termed "half-naked vagabonds of the desert." Harsh terms were proposed to the citizens of Heliopolis, and Herbis himself, their governor, was made the bearer of them. Amongst these stipulations, the ransom demanded by Abu Obeidah was—two thousand ounces of gold, four thousand of silver, one thousand sabres, besides all the arms of the troops then hemmed in in the ruined convent, and lastly, two thousand silken robes.—It was further provided in a clause, that these unhappy citizens of Heliopolis were to bind themselves never again to take up arms against the cause of Islam, never to build any more churches, and finally, to pay a prescribed annual tribute.

These terms, hard and oppressive as they undoubtedly proved, were but too eagerly embraced by the disheartened and broken-spirited citizens; and that very evening, within the walls of Baalbec, while the timid families of the vanquished Christians gathered round the portals of their churches, with supplications to Heaven for succour; while only their pent-up sighs broke upon the stillness of that silent sunset hour, while the last golden rays yet emblazoned the cross over domes of cathedral and convent, while the lark sung its vesper hymn high up in the clear atmosphere of that fair clime, and all nature seemed hushed in intensest solitude, as though the universe were mourning the sad doom that hung over that magnificent city; suddenly, from the battlements of Heliopolis there arose a strange and heretofore unheard cry, sinking or rising on the gentle night breeze that swept over



it from the snow-capped mountains of Lebanon :—the women fled in terror to their homes, the men vainly clasped parents and children to their breasts, and the panic was universal ; but, as gradually the voice on those battlements subsided into silence, then those unhappy Christians discovered, that they had been for the first time listening to the Islams' call to prayer, that the song of the muezzin had tainted that air, wherein, heretofore, only the Christian's song of praise had ascended to Heaven. After this succeeded many battles and victories, desperate in their nature, but worthy only of a slight record, when compared with the conquests of Heliopolis and Damascus. We now arrive at the period when the daughter of Zion, the great city of Jerusalem, was destined, amongst her many calamities, to be besieged and captured by the fanatical followers of the Impostor-Prophet. This expedition was intrusted to Yezid, already conspicuous for his great skill and valour as a general. After having been some days encamped in sight of the holy city, orders arrived for Yezid to prosecute the attack. Long before the sun had set behind the distant sea, multitudes of invaders were marshalled under their respective generals, who at the head of each battalion were repeating, slowly and audibly, the matin prayer ; then there arose a mighty shout—a voice of thousands, the echo of which was flung from mountain to mountain, till like a huge and fearful pall it fell upon the hapless city, and roused the poor slumberers from all their dreams of security. What ominous shout was this ! what foreboding words !  
*“ Enter ye, oh people ! into the land which God hath*

*destined for you."* This was a verse from the fifth chapter of the Koran, and whilst its echo yet sounded in the distance the assault commenced; but the people of Jerusalem had had ample time to prepare for a stout resistance: their battlements were well defended with engines; and for ten days all the courage and the forces of the Islamites were unavailing; then came Abu Obeidah, with the remnant of the Saracens, and he summoned the garrison to yield under the usual stipulations enforced by the Moslem conquerors. It was not likely that a city, strong in its natural and artificial defences, and which had certainly had the advantage during the previous ten days' siege, would immediately yield to the impositions of a wild people whose courage, however valiant, might not be able to cope with the bitter cold of the arid and rocky mountains near Jerusalem; but there was another and a greater consideration which inspired the besieged with confidence, and determined them to resist to the uttermost the invading forces—that all Christendom looked upon Jerusalem as the holiest city of the holy; and the citizens hoped, that in the hour of need succour would pour in from all quarters of Europe: consequently, the summons of the Islam commander-in-chief was treated with disdain. At about this period was it, that Abu Obeidah sent his threat, that if they did not yield to his terms, he would bring men against them who loved death better than they loved wine or swine's flesh, and would make captives and slaves of their children whilst the men should be annihilated. Both Christians and Islams regarded Jerusalem as a

holy city; and, consequently, both were determined to fight desperately, each confident that his own was the righteous cause, and that God would surely be his aid. The Mahometan general advanced as his plea for besieging the city, the tradition of the prophet having made his nocturnal ascent up to heaven from hence; and whilst, on the one hand, Sempronius, the patriarch, argued, from within the city walls, that it was desecration to attack the holy city, and an outrage that would be sure to call down the wrath of Heaven, Abu Obeidah replied, that he and his followers were perfectly aware of the sanctity of Ælia, (as Jerusalem was then called, after Ælius Adrian, who had rebuilt it,) and, moreover, that within were interred the bones of the patriarchs and the prophets, but, urged the Islam commander, we are more worthy to possess it than idolaters with crosses and images, neither will we relax, until the banner of the prophet shall wave over the walls of Jerusalem el Shereef (the holy). So waged the war through four wintry months. The bleak cold air of December, and the snow on the mountain top, found in the sun-dried Arab an impervious constitution. The watch fires blazed through the nights, heaped pile upon pile with olive and fig branches, the only available fuel in the immediate neighbourhood of the city, and every day witnessed some skirmish or assault. Still, however, the city maintained itself stoutly; still the besiegers raised the war-cry of Allah and his prophet; and the young grass began to spring up around, whilst the sweet notes of birds indicated the approach of con-

genial spring. Weary and dispirited, the citizens were at length forced to yield, but Sempronius stipulated, that to the caliph, and only to him, would he surrender the holy city of Jerusalem.

This extraordinary stipulation caused some excitement at Mecca; but the Caliph Omar appears to have been a man of sound judgment, and good sense: he immediately complied with the request of the patriarch, and mounting a sorrel camel, he journeyed towards the land of promise, leaving Ali to officiate during his absence from the caliphate. It is said that Omar, all along the road, contented himself with the simplest fare, and ate out of the same plate with his followers—he was extremely punctilious in the observance of all the prayers imposed upon Islams by the Koran—and is said to have executed justice with unbiassed mind and equitable hand. With this journey is supposed to have originated the terrible law, which, even up to the present day, is in many parts of the Ottoman Empire rigorously enforced. We allude to apostasy from the Islam faith being punished with decapitation. Many and many a luckless Armenian and Greek were oftentimes compelled into embracing the Islam creed; but, having at the first opportunity recanted, paid the penalty of their wavering faith by the forfeiture of their heads: and it is not seven years since, that one unhappy Armenian was for this offence publicly executed at Constantinople; when, in addition to the injury put upon Christendom by such an outrage, they added insult by forcing the victim to wear a European hat as he

was led through the streets to execution. The origin of this is stated to have been an offence committed by one of the early proselytes to the Moslem faith in Arabia, who had married two sisters contrary to the Islam practice. Omar sent for the offender, and insisted upon his being divorced from one or the other of his wives; whereat the Arab demurred, regretting the hour that he had embraced Islamism: hereupon the caliph is reported to have struck him with his cane, exclaiming that thenceforward, whoever embraced Mahometanism and afterwards renounced it, should surely be punished with death.—Finally, Omar arrived in sight of Jerusalem. “Allah Ackbar,” exclaimed the caliph. “He grants us the conquest!”—the city was immediately surrendered, and the vanquished Christians flocked to see this mighty potentate, whose fame and dominions were spreading in the East, as flames travel on the prairie. Their silken robes ill accorded with the rough homely costume of the caliph, who, however, never interfered with the dress or customs of the natives; but prohibited his own followers, under pain of severe punishment, from indulging the effeminate luxury which might damp their ardour for warfare. The terms of capitulation were drawn up by Omar himself; and in them were introduced those clauses, which, with little interruption, have been steadily acted upon, even up to the present day; and which have ever after rendered the hapless native Christians slaves to the caprices of their Moslem masters. By this treaty of Elia, the Christian was compelled to rise on the entrance

of a Moslem, and to remain standing whilst his guest was seated—they could only ride on saddleless horses—never bear arms—sell no wines—entertain Islam strangers three days gratis—bear no Arabic inscriptions on their signets—and never salute after the Moslem manner. But, above all, no more Christian churches were to be erected, and the church doors were at all hours to be left open; Christian children were not to be taught the Koran, nor were Christians to attempt proselytism—bells only to be used in tolling, and no crosses to be carried through the streets or erected in churches. There were some stipulations of minor importance, relative to the dress of the Christians; which distinctions, with very little variation, are enforced even at the present day. These conditions, severe and degrading, in tenor and spirit, were at once accepted; and the caliph, under his own hand and seal, gave them an assurance of the protection of their lives and property, and the free use of their churches, and the exercise of their religion.—Thus fell Jerusalem, the proud and haughty city of Zion, into the hand of the wild descendants of Ishmael. And the mountains about Jerusalem trembled round the cave of Machpelah, to wake up Abraham from the deep sleep of death:—had he come forth from the grave, and looked down upon Jerusalem, he would have found that on that day was fulfilled the promise made to him by the Holy God of Truth, nearly two thousand five hundred years before this capture of Jerusalem by the Islams:—“*Of the son of the bondwoman will I make a nation, because he*

*is thy seed."* Nor, while the venerable Sempronius stood sorrowfully gazing from the city gates at these Arab invaders, could his heart other than sink within him, as he recalled to mind those prophetic words of Isaiah:—" *And the horsemen shall set themselves in array at the gate.*" Isaiah xxii. 7.

## CHAPTER IV.

Formal entry of the Caliph—Omar reproved by Sempronius—Yezid appointed governor of Palestine—Troops march against Persia and Syria—Omar returns to Medina—The siege of Aleppo—Youkenah defeats the Saracens, but is betrayed by the citizens—His cruel revenge—The fall of Aleppo—Youkenah's apostasy—Khaleed's ambition for further conquest—The Saracens march against Antioch.

JERUSALEM was fallen—the mighty city of that once mighty people, the Hebrews, was again in the hands of the stranger, and her hapless citizens, under the heavy bondage of Islam serfdom. The tumult and the bloodshed of war were at an end, and both victors and vanquished rested from their strife, and reposed during the intense and sultry heat, till the evening breeze came freshening up over the barren hills of Judæa. The dove, no more alarmed by the tumult of contending warriors, returned to her long forsaken nest; and in the gentle twilight of that fair spring-evening the nightingale chanted her requiem over the spirits of those who had fallen in the battle-field. Two men on foot, unaccompanied by vain pageantry, entered the Joppa gate of Jerusalem: both were well stricken in years, and both were distinguishable by their long and venerable beards; but here the similarity ceased—



for whilst the one was clad in the meanest and coarsest costume worn by the Arabs of the desert, the other was decked out in the richest silks of Damascus, and carried with him the insignia of high office. These were Omar, the Caliph of the Islams, and Sempronius, the Patriarch of the Christians: familiarly they conversed on the antiquities and history of that great city where the wise King Solomon had once reigned with unrivalled splendour, until they reached the Church of the Resurrection; when the patriarch, who had heretofore treated the caliph with the respect due to a conqueror, is said to have been so much affected by the sight of so meanly clad, if not filthy a personage, occupying a prominent position in the church, that he involuntarily exclaimed—"Of a verity, I with mine own eyes behold the fulfilment of the prophecy by Daniel, the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place."

But Omar was extremely punctilious in the performance to the strict letter of the treaties entered into between himself and the Christians; so much so, that though invited by the patriarch to perform his devotions within the precincts of the holy edifice, he declined so doing, upon the plea, that had he consented, the Islams would have immediately converted the Church of the Resurrection into a mosque; the caliph, however, appropriated the site of the Temple of Solomon, for a Mahometan Jami; this mosque was subsequently enriched and beautified by succeeding caliphs; and at the present day, amidst the solitude and desolation that reign around the forsaken city of Zion, there is one mag-

nificent edifice which ever attracts the notice of the stranger, as the sunlight sparkles upon its many minarets and domes. This building is the magnificent mosque of Omar, whose foundation stones were laid only seventeen years after the commencement of Islamism, and coeval with the surrender of Jerusalem, in the year of our Lord 637.

Ten days sufficed for the simple yet bold Arab, to terminate all necessary arrangements with regard to the government of the newly-acquired possession, Jerusalem.—Yezid Eben Aboo Sophian was left with an efficient force to govern Palestine, including the sea-port range from Gaza in the south to Carmel and Acre; at the same time the greater body of the Islamite troops were dispatched into Egypt and Persia, under two Moslem generals of distinction, whilst Abu Obeidah led on in person the flower of the Mahometan army to the conquest of northern Syria. And that aged chief, Omar the caliph, a man born instinctively to appreciate the brighter gifts of nature, in soil, climate, and luxuriant foliage, whose vanquishing army might have placed his throne beside the pleasantest stream or the shadiest tree in that Holy Land, where the blue sky is scarcely ever fretted with a cloud—where the zephyr breathes health from over mountain top or fathomless deep—where the song of the summer day birds is only hushed for the cadence of the nightingale—where the golden light of the sun fades into the purple west only to give place to the mellow light of the moon—where the wild bee roves, freighted with the fragrant, yet unknown flowers—where a thousand springs murmur through glade

and dale—where the Almighty had spread around him an endless source of wealth and happiness—that country, with all its charms, could not overpoise the sense of duty entertained by the simple but wise old Caliph Omar : he left them all, content again to travel over many a dreary waste, upon the coarsest and the poorest fare, because he was (though mistakenly) possessed by faith and superstition ; the former of which, while we Christians eschew the latter, we too often grievously disregard. Thus Omar returned to Medina, ruling amongst his simple people with a mild and equitable sway—faring as their meanest fared, clad as their meanest was clad ; while the troops of Islam were rapidly advancing towards Aleppo, and more than one fertile and beautiful country bordering on the banks of the Orontes had fallen under the Moslem sway.

At length Abu Obeidah presented himself before the strongly fortified city of Aleppo, whose mercantile citizens had already heard of the exploits of the Saracens, and who consequently trembled to think that the immense wealth, reaped after years of unwearied toil and cunning, and after much speculation and enterprise, was now about to become the prize of those whom they regarded as little better than a body of wild freebooters. In the centre of the city—not outside, as others have said—stands an artificial hill, embedded with rough stones, and surmounted at the present day by the ruins of an ancient castle and fortress, amongst whose decaying chambers and buttresses the curiosity of modern inquirers is rewarded by amassing heads of broken bows, and pieces of antique arrows, used by those

stalwart invaders. This identical castle was then in a perfect state of repair, and considered as almost impregnable. The governor, appointed by Heraclius, was then recently dead, and his two sons had succeeded to his command. Of these, the first-born was Youkenah, a fierce and unforgiving man, born to be a warrior, and in whose ears the clash of arms was the only pleasant music. He held the sway of all the provinces dependant upon Aleppo. In contradistinction to him was his younger brother, Whanas, or Johannas, a pious, humble anchorite, whose alarm only exceeded that of the timid citizens. When, for the first time, he gazed forth from the window of his isolated turret-chamber, and beheld the clouds of dust rolling portentously before the approaching multitudes of horsemen, vainly did he strive to damp the warlike ardour of his elder brother, or to frighten him into surrender and ransom. Youkenah laughed ferociously at the idea of being dictated to, or advised by one whose whole lifetime had been spent in counting beads, and whose worldly experience reached not beyond the deep moats which encompassed the citadel. Accordingly he took the field against the invaders, first bribing his troops to courage by gifts and gold. During his absence from the city, a council of war was held by the more timid and most opulent inhabitants; when it was unanimously resolved to dispatch envoys to the Arabian camp, with proffers of ransom, and to sue for peaceful negotiations. This deputation was favourably received by the Arabian commander-in-chief, and terms were satisfactorily arranged. Meanwhile, however, a skirmish had taken place between the Aleppian troops and the vanguard

of the Islams, under Kahib Eben Dhinnhurrah, in which the latter were routed with considerable loss. Neither is there any saying what the results of Youkenah's expedition might have proved, or how much the Islams might have been dispirited by this overthrow, had it not been for Youkenah's receiving secret intelligence of what occurred during his absence from Aleppo. Infuriated beyond measure at these tidings, and burning for vengeance upon those who had traitorously yielded, or at least endeavoured to yield the city without striking a blow for its defence, he hurried back at the head of his troops, and put several innocent citizens to death ; at the same time rendering this crime yet blacker, by the murder of his humble and pious brother, on whom suspicion of treason seems unquestionably to have rested, and whose head Youkenah severed from the body by one single stroke of his blood-stained scimitar. For five months, with but little cessation, Aleppo was in a state of siege ; both parties performing prodigies of valour, both guilty of the greatest atrocities, with regard to their prisoners ; till finally, Abu Obeidah wished to raise the siege, and dispatched special messengers to the caliphate, soliciting permission to retire for the present from before Aleppo, and to at once attack the ancient and beautiful city of Antioch. This permission was withheld, but, in lieu thereof, Omar sent reinforcements to assist the Arabs in carrying on the siege. Yet, for all this, the citadel held out for nearly two months longer ; till at last, by the stratagem of a low-born but cunning Arab, named Damas, a man of herculean strength, the citadel was scaled in the dead of night. Damas and his

followers crept upon all fours, carefully crunching hard dry crusts of bread, whenever suspicion appeared to be on the alert amongst the watchmen on the battlement, whose fears were thus speedily lulled under the supposition that the invaders were nothing more or less than a pack of hungry curs—such as have always abounded in Eastern cities, and which, up to this very day, are the greatest plague of Aleppo. Gnawing their scant suppers, so the assailants went on unmolested. Damas was fortunate enough, after several failures, to secure a prisoner who understood Arabic, and from whom he speedily obtained the requisite information regarding the weakest and least guarded portion of the citadel. He learned too, that almost all the garrison were inebriated; making merry upon the supposition that the trick practised by Abu Obeidah in withdrawing the troops, which was part and parcel of the scheme practised by Damas, was no feint, but a reality; which led Youkenah and his troops to imagine that the invaders had been worsted and were retiring in despair. So they drank deeply, and sang merrily that night within the castle walls. Even the chamber high up in the turret of the poor slaughtered monk seemed to echo forth the songs of the carousers. Damas reached the spot indicated by the Christian prisoner; and here he and his followers performed that feat of strength, since introduced into England, and performed to the admiration of more peaceful and applauding spectators, by acrobats in our London streets. They mounted one upon the shoulders of the others—Damas bearing the weight of all—and so, gently rising, partly supported and helped by the walls of the citadel, the first man

scaled the walls, and quickly dispatched the drunken sentinel. Then, with the assistance of an unfurled turban or two, the whole of these bold adventurers, save two out of thirty, were hauled up in safety. These two were dispatched for troops from the camp, and whilst they were gone, the besiegers quietly opened the gates, and lowered the drawbridge. Then fell a direful panic upon the revelling host of Youkenah, whom Damas had a few seconds before, by means of an aperture in the walls, beheld dressed in gorgeous apparel, quaffing goblets of wine, and roaring out snatches of Bacchanalian songs. Proud and happy must these Arabs have been, to think that the founder of their faith had strictly prohibited those intoxicating drinks, the effects of which were that night about to prostrate a multitude in weakness, and compel a whole garrison to yield to a handful of adventurous but sober assailants. The besieged, in the utmost confusion, rushed to their arms ; all was tumult and darkness ; but that handful of Arabs defended manfully the drawbridge, longing for, yet fearing the approach of daylight ; on the one hand, because at that hour they hoped for succour—on the other hand, because they knew that, should this succour fail to arrive, they could not hope by the glare of day to hold out against overwhelming numbers. Their fears however were needless, for scarce had the first tint of day lighted up the east, before the loud and familiar cry of *Allah Ackbar* greeted their ears, and the renowned Khaleed at the head of a chosen troop swept like a whirlwind over the drawbridge, and carried the citadel at the point of the sword. The rest is soon told. The van-

quished speedily laid down their arms and sued for peace ; and the first renegade from his mother-creed that day was the savage and brutal fratricide, Youkenah. Thus fell Aleppo, with a vast tract of fertile and beautiful country, under the sway of these desperate invaders, amongst whom a rich spoil was divided, the fifth part of which being according to usage apportioned to the caliphate, was received with acclamations by the people of Mecca and Medina, and thought to be astonishing booty, even by people, who at that time were well accustomed to the daily receipt of immense spoils, sent by the victorious Islam generals from the distant lands of their acquisition. Too impatient was the successful Khaled for further achievements and glory, to admit of his remaining inactive for any longer space, than what was absolutely necessary for recruiting their strength. Mounting to the castellated heights, he gazed forth towards the spot, and pointed out to his followers the route of glory before them ; while the lofty outlines of the distant hills of Antioch appeared upon the dim horizon of their gaze, and the fierce heat of the mid-day sun mantled their tops with red and misty clouds. Beyond those, there were rich plains and pasturages, such as well suited the Arabs and their much-loved mares ; where the deep blue waters of a pleasant river were surrounded by perpetually vernal meadows. He told them, that though the cool bracing atmosphere of the high hills about Aleppo, by early morn and at eventide, were refreshing and invigorating indeed ; in that city, which their enemies called Antioch, there was a mellifluousness in the breath of heaven, that in-



spired not only health, but love and courage ; and, moreover, that every inch of ground was a mine of wealth—the deeper it was digged, the vaster the treasure. Such a land, he argued, was a meet home for the sons and descendants of the worshippers of the prophet ; and thither, accordingly, he urged them to proceed without any further loss of time ; recalling to their minds the glorious and fertile city of Damascus, which, he assured them, would barely admit of comparison with the luxury of climate, and the beauty of the scenery about Antioch. The war cry was raised—Allah Ackbar echoed through the desolate streets of Aleppo—the warriors vaulted into their saddles—the proud steeds of Arabia with manes erect sniffed the pleasant breeze from the verdant plains of the Amuk—and in half-an-hour afterwards, the whole train of invaders had quitted the fallen city of Aleppo, and were travelling over the hills that intervene between that city and the level fertile country which is watered and intersected by the Orontes.

## CHAPTER V.

Route of the Moslem army—Splendour of their night encampment  
—The assault on Gessir-il-Hadeed—Siege and capture of  
Antioch—Completion of the conquest of Syria.

THE sun shone fiercely upon that host as it swept in long cavalcade over the desolate and rocky mountains that surround Aleppo. Men, however, from infancy inured to the intensest heat and the severest fatigues, found rather a congenial than oppressive warmth in the refraction of that early sunshine; the echo of the horses' iron-shod hoofs rolled like distant thunder through glen and valley; and the wolf and the hyena fled affrighted from their familiar haunts. Still onward it swept; the circuitous route over those sterile and rocky hills causing the closely-packed horsemen to present to the astounded inhabitants of the plains, the track of a monstrous serpent, undulating with fierce vibration, and tracking its destructive course over hills and down glades. At length, the first day's journeying terminated with the close of night. Both man and beast were well worn with fatigue, and the rough sharp stones and huge fragments of rock, which beset their pathway, had cut and maimed the hoofs of many a valuable steed. At

the foot of the mountains of Terminine, the army bivouacked; and one vast line of watchfires, kept up through the night for signals, cast a solemn splendour over that midnight encampment. We have no traditionary records as to whether those many ruins of once splendid cities which are now thickly spread through the valleys and on the hill tops of this very neighbourhood, were then peopled and flourishing. The probability is favourable, however, to our supposition, from the style of architecture. Taking this, therefore, as granted, what awe, yet admiration, must have filled the breasts of those distant spectators, then passing their lives in agricultural pursuits within the quiet seclusion of their own city's environs, as they gazed that night upon the far but brilliant illumination, where hordes of men and cattle were clearly distinguishable, bursting forth like a sudden eruption from the earth over a hilly country, where the eye was wont to distinguish at this late hour nought but the deepest darkness! We have within the last four years travelled over this identical track, and rambled in solitude through many of the forsaken cities; and therefore memory enables, and fancy wills, that we follow in the track of this wild host of invaders. Familiar with every landmark and foot-path, in frequent journeyings, we are persuaded, that just as the Arabs travel now—with the same hours of repose, and the same hours of march (the latter lasting always so long as man and beast can endure its fatigue)—so passed, then, the Islams, under Abu Obeidah, on their way to the siege of Antioch. On the second morning they were betimes

in the saddle, and they marched through the last ravine, and down into the vast plains of the Amuk, to the stirring music of myriads of larks ; which, unscared by this mighty invasion upon their peaceful and solitary territories, sang as sweetly as ever lark sang, shaking the pearly dew-drops from their yet moist wings over the fierce sons of distant Arabia—yes, and wild flowers blossomed around in the sweetest profusion. Oh, what an aromatic zephyr was that early breath of morn ! bracing up the sinews of old and young ; making the horseman vault into his saddle for joy, as his fiery steed pawed the earth for freedom to race over many a level plain at utmost speed ; nor was this freedom withheld, for soon the invaders had left the mountains and rocky pathway behind them. Before, around, far as the eye could trace, was one immense level mead ; clad in a vesture of emerald green, and decked with gems of many hues, with fields of blue, golden, and scarlet flowers ; beyond these a brown heath ; and then the variegated vesture again. “ Now sweep we forward, while the cool air permits,” was doubtless the command of the Arab commander, as the first golden ray of that morning sun cheered the earth. Away they sweep, that mighty multitude of horsemen ; the earth is torn up and ploughed by a storm of iron hoofs, and trembles as though shaken by an earthquake ; the air is rent with the wild neighing of the delighted steeds mingling with the not less joyous shouts of the host. Space and distance are rapidly left behind. Still the vast Amuk stretches out on every side. The horses foam—the lances of

the Islams glitter like mirrors in the brightening light of day—those countless birds that have long reposed in uninterrupted security, which now hover round and round the army, pierce the air with their shrieks and notes of terror, till the cloud of invaders hath swept by; then, cautiously return to their old and secluded haunts. In the mean time, where was the black-hearted renegade, Youkenah? He was deep in treachery—busy in the continuance of dark deeds—plotting the downfall of the ancient capital of Syria. He had preceded the main body of the army by a day or two's march, accompanied by two hundred renegades, such as himself in everything that was base; and so these, dividing themselves, fell into the hands of the outposts of Heraclius's army, and were conducted before that emperor, there to exculpate their apostasy. In this, Youkenah was only too successful, by working upon the weaker points of the emperor's understanding. He declared that himself and his renegade followers had only embraced Islamism, when, after a stout defence, treachery or rather cunning had betrayed them into the power of their enemies, and that they had so done with the hope of eventually aiding in the defence of the city of Antioch. The result was, that not only was he entrusted with the escort of the emperor's daughter from an adjacent town into Antioch—which mission, for the furtherance of his own views, he safely accomplished—but he was subsequently promoted to be chief counsellor, and every facility afforded him for the accomplishment of his villainous end, by the unsuspecting and simple emperor. Let

us return to the multitude of horsemen that are left sweeping over the plains of the Amuk. Towards mid-day both man and horse needed refreshment and repose; so they bivouacked by the borders of that small stream, the Afreen, a tributary of the Orontes; which, after a meandering course; throughout the whole extent of the fertile plains of the Amuk, discharges its silvery waters into the mother stream. The castellated heights of the distant capital of Syria were bathed in the golden streams of an Eastern sunset, when the invading army reached the confines of those extensive plains. Before them rose in varied and glorious aspect the country about Antioch; around them, now gushing close under the horses' hoofs, now winding in the distant fields, flowed the mighty waters of the Orontes, whilst the lofty outline of the mountain-range above them was gilded with purplish gold, gradually melting as they rose into the azure clearness of the bright firmament. The dark foliage of a thousand forest-trees clothed the bases of the nearer hills; while far away to the right, shadowing faint outlines against the distant horizon, rose the lofty Beilan range, and the still loftier Taurus; gigantic and perpetual records of the struggles between Persians and Greeks, testifying the courage and skill of those two great generals, Alexander and Darius; possibly there was a spark of that bright light of sunset that fell refracted from the distant snows of Taurus, carrying with it a bright remembrance of these two heroes upon every individual breast of that invading horde, kindling the spirit of chivalry. Certain it is

that no sooner in the hazy distance were espied the white columns and bridge of Gessir-el-Hadeed, than loud acclamations of Allah-Akbar found a thousand deafening echoes; and the troops of the Islams, first louring like a thunder cloud in the distance, now gleamed on the startled vision of the besieged, as the countless lances were upraised in the golden light of the sun. No tempest wind out-roared that mighty cheer; scarce could the hurricane blast contend in power or speed with that dreadful charge. The gates of the iron bridge groaned heavily under its mighty pressure; and in that intense storm of passion and warfare, if rain fell not in torrents, blood flowed in streams; and that whirlwind of butchery and terror was only absorbed, when the intense darkness of night flung its pall over the earth, and man and beast rested from their labour of carnage.

At this day the site of so terrible a contest is a miserable village, consisting of some half dozen wretched huts, as many more attempts at shops, and a coffee-house which maintains a thriving trade, in a locality whereat travellers bound to and from Antioch begin to weary of their journey, and are glad of a brief repose under the pleasant shade of the stately trees on the river's banks: it retains to this day its primitive name of Gessir-el-Hadeed—the iron bridge—so called from the fact of its commanding an almost impregnable position, and being the only spot where by means of an excellent one-arched bridge, the river is passable at any season of the year in a country where boats are unknown. Under an efficient garrison it might still

prove a safeguard to Antioch against aggression from the Aleppo side; and even now it is of commercial importance to the local government: there being here alone a certainty of tolls being levied upon imported and exported goods, for they have no other route through which to smuggle, and must, of necessity, pass over Gessir-el-Hadeed in trafficking between Aleppo and Antioch. That the bridge was impregnable to the forces of these Arabian freebooters, was the firm opinion of the luckless Emperor Heraclius; nor had he been deceived, but for the treachery of his own troops; a strong garrison of whom had been stationed at Gessir for the protection of the bridge: these soldiers, however, long enervated by their indulgences in a country where wines and luxuries were abundant, and where the many temptations held out by the mild and vernal climate, the abundant foliage, and green pasturages, little disposed its inhabitants toward the hard and wearying profession of arms. Hence, in the hour of danger, these Greeks were found by their stricter officers quaffing cups of wine, gambling, and singing love-ditties in lieu of attending to the strict routine of military duty: these fellows having been severely punished, in revenge concerted to deliver up the fortress of Il Gessir without striking a blow; and a position that might have been with a little skill and management successfully defended for months, was galloped into after a few hours' carnage rather than warfare; for the better disposed amongst the Greek soldiery fought valiantly; and in the confusion that ensued, full many a traitor paid the price of his treachery



with his head. The news of the surrender of Gesir-el-Hadeed completely annihilated any latent hope the emperor might have entertained for the recapture of those fair provinces of Syria, which in such rapid succession had fallen under the Moslem yoke. His first care was to despatch his daughter under a safe escort to the seaport town of Silencia, about three hours' ride from the capital; meanwhile the Arab troops were rapidly advancing upon the city itself; and the look-outs from the castellated heights could trace their progress, step by step, as they approached in martial array: four hours' easy riding would bring them to the city gate itself; but then it was whispered that so strong a place could for months hold out, even against the most overwhelming forces, at a period when cannon were not brought into the field: hasty counsels of war were held; and amongst other insane propositions listened to by the unfortunate Heraclius—who, like a drowning man, was glad to grasp at every reed of hope—was one to the effect, that an apostate Moslem should be despatched to Mecca, to assassinate the Caliph Omar, under the supposition that his death would annihilate the Moslem Empire. No time, however, for earnest and active measures was now to be lost; the Christians drew up in battle array upon a commanding position, nearly at the bases of those sloping hills which terminate in the abrupt mountainous crags, now surmounted with the ruined fragments of the battlements of that period. Abu-Obeidah had a level country to traverse, of full four miles in extent, before arriving at the gradually undulating ground which lies immedi-

ately behind the city of Antioch ; and which even to the present hour affords pasturage to countless flocks of sheep, and other cattle. Here shortly, both armies came in sight of each other, and were drawn up as nearly as the country would permit face to face. Now came the tug of war. One brave Christian general, Nestorius, summoned from amongst the Infidel invaders a champion for single combat ; the glove was taken up by the Hero of Aleppo, the herculean Damas ; but, his horse stumbling, the Moslem was thrown, and carried away prisoner, into the city ; then came another, and he and Nestorius fought long and bravely, yet neither could exceed the other in strength or prowess of arms. Meanwhile, the foulest treachery was brewing within : the villain Youkenah had liberated a captive, named Derar, and two hundred of his followers that had some time previously been surprised and captured by the emperor's scouts ; then again, the gigantic Damas had, by main strength, liberated himself, and cut his way back to the Islam camp. The revolt in the city caused Heraclius's heart to be overcome with fear ; and while his generals and their troops were making a gallant stand before the city gates, this superstitious coward, weighed down by passing events, in conjunction with a dream interpreted as portentous of his downfall, fled in secret through the Seleucian gate of Antioch, and after two hours' hard riding reached the mouth of the Orontes, and embarked in the gulf of Antioch, accompanied by his daughter and servants, on board a vessel which sailed immediately to Constantinople. Still the battle waged without—possibly the

Christians knew not of the flight of their emperor ; most probably, if they did, they would not have regretted it ; brave men fought in both ranks, and but for the treachery of that one base renegade, Youkenah, the struggle might have otherwise terminated. The Christians, however, were surprised by an assault made upon them from their rear, by Derar and his followers ; and finding resistance vain, capitulated for their lives and property, and, laying down their arms, submitted to the Moslem yoke. Thus, in the year of our Lord 638, on the 21st day of August, the Moslem invaders entered in triumph, under their commander-in-chief, into the old and famous city of Antioch ; that fair and beautiful city, so often the scene of fearful contention, and dreadful convulsions of nature ; but not of these things thought the victorious troops, as they steadily marched through the long avenues of the delicious gardens that led to the heart of the newly vanquished city. The hard stones of the Roman roads emitted sparks from the clashing hoofs of this swarm of horsemen ; on either side of their pathway were rough stone walls ; but these concealed not from view the rich treasures of nature, girt by their rough barriers. Early autumn had cast a purple bloom upon the bunches of grapes that hung countlessly from wall or fence ; golden coloured figs were bursting with ripeness ; the melon and the cucumber entwined with each other, and stretched across the very pathway of these invaders, as though strewn there to welcome them with their abundant offerings. Ever and anon the hoof of some fiery steed dashed through the ripe melon, and then there

arose an incense, such as never had these Islams inhaled before. Mulberry-trees were verdant with foliage, rich in promise for the next year's silk harvest: it was a poet's fairest dream, a painter's brightest subject, realized by touch and smell, and sight; now towering high up in the distant horizon, marking his blue outline distinctly against the lighter azure of the heaven. Abu-Obeidah, for the first time, looked upon the stately mount of Cassius; five minutes more, and they rode alongside the high embankments of the beautiful Orontes; far away stretched the sea, bounded on either side by lofty headlands: and the breath of evening was fraught with the orange flower, and the myrtle. The standard of the prophet was reared upon that spot, and floated languidly in the mild zephyr. The song of the Imaum, and the muezzin call, startled the dove from her retreat. Orontes flowed on, murmuring ever her gentle song—Antioch had fallen.

And the conquest of the Syrian Empire was completed.

## CHAPTER VI.

Islam incursions to the mountains of the Ansarii—Their terrible sufferings and return—Further treachery of Youkenah—Siege and capture of Tyre—The battle of Cæsarea—Flight of Constantine—Peace followed by Pestilence—Death of noted commanders—Wine first used by Mahometans—Omar's letter to Heraclius—Death and character of Khaleed.

WITH the downfall of Antioch, it may be said that Syria had virtually been conquered. Latachia and Tripoli were yet however to be brought under subjugation; and the stronghold of Constantine at Cæsarea was the last to yield to the Mahometan yoke. Expeditions were soon set on foot to explore the mountainous district, reaching from Gebil Acra, at the extreme point of the gulf of Silencia, to those even now impregnable and but little known fastnesses, to this day inhabited by a wild and lawless people, the Ansarii; which extend to a great depth into the country round about Laodicea, and almost imperceptibly merge into the Lebanon range. Here, the hardships encountered by the invaders were such as to damp even their ardour for victory. The golden fruits of autumn had been swept away by the tempestuous winds of November, and the snow lay ominously deep upon the mountain summit:—heat, thirst, hunger, and fatigue, all these had been the companions in arms of the sons of Islam; but never

before in their experience, had they encountered so fearful an enemy as this bleak dispiriting cold of a frosty winter. While the plains revelled in a mild temperature, and were daily basking in bright sunshine, the mountains were enveloped in fog and mist, snow storms and thunder, lightning and hail. These were the lot of the invaders, all of whom were scantily clad, many shoeless; while their much cherished horses encountered insuperable obstacles to their passage in the wild mountain-passes, where, like gigantic steps, the pathway led from crumbling rock to rock, here and everywhere encumbered and impeded with huge logs of wood, or prostrate trees, felled by the succeeding gales of centuries and abiding there to rot with time. Dense forests of stately trees grew up the sides and over the tops of the hills. These were as familiar to the invaded, as were the sandy plains of Arabia to the invaders; and from inaccessible thickets huge masses of rocks were hurled out upon the heads of the dispirited Islams. These troops under Eben Mesroud, the herculean Damas, with a thousand Ethiopians, and ultimately the force under Khaleed, successfully encountered and defeated a powerful body of imperial troops; not, however, without loss—for these latter, on secretly retreating by night, carried off with their prisoners of war a relative of the prophet, and much esteemed friend of Omar. This concluded the expedition to the Ansarii mountains. The severity of the season, together with the natural obstructions which crossed their way, compelled the Islams to desist from following up their victories. So the black eagle of Khaleed was furled for the time; and

the Islams not unwillingly returned to the main body of the Moslem forces. During the interval between the fall of Antioch and the return of Khaleed and Damas from the mountains, the traitor Youkenah had crossed over the summits of Mount Cassius, followed by a chosen band of renegades; and, descending into the plains of Latachia, so skirting the borders of the Mediterranean, reached Tripoli at the foot of the famed cedars of Lebanon. Here, where the fame of his chivalrous defence of Aleppo had preceded him, and where his apostasy was yet unknown, Youkenah and his followers were cordially welcomed by the unsuspecting inhabitants. Watching a favourable opportunity, they rose upon and subdued the town; sending intelligence of their success to Abu-Obeidah, while, for deception's sake, the standard of the Cross was still permitted to wave over the battlements of Tripoli. The tide of misfortune had set in against the Greeks, and was destined to overwhelm the Syrian dynasty. Fifty ships, laden with ammunition and stores, bound from Cyprus and Cræte for Cæsarea, anchored off Tripoli, and before suspicion could be aroused, these were in the possession of Youkenah and his followers—the force sent by Abu-Obeidah having received charge of the town of Tripoli. The fleet sailed for Tyre, still carrying the Christian flag; and the Tyrians flocked to the sea side with loud acclamations and joy to welcome the needed succour. Youkenah having landed with nine hundred men, was received by the poor deluded inhabitants as a deliverer, but intending secretly to possess himself of the town. Here, for once, Youkenah had calculated without

his host; for one of his followers betrayed the plot—he and his colleagues were seized and imprisoned in the citadel. It had been well for the unhappy Tyrians had martial-law followed its course, and had Youkenah and his band paid the penalty of their fiendish crimes and apostasy. We have no clue to the reasons or causes of the clemency showed them by their deceived and injured countrymen; but we learn that, possessed of almost Satanic persuasion, this traitor actually so worked upon one Bazil, an officer in whose care the prisoners were placed, that they eventually prevailed upon his joining common cause with them, and in the treacherous surrender of the city to the troops under Yezid Eben Abu Sophian, the Governor of Jerusalem and a large portion of Palestine, who had advanced rapidly upon Tyre in the hopes of finding the crescent already floating over that city's walls, and who in so doing had relinquished to Amru the subjugation of Cæsarea. The new apostate Bazil, with Youkenah and his followers, rose upon the Tyrians when least expected, and whilst these latter were harassing the small body of troops under Eben Sophian by frequent sallies and skirmishing parties, the terrible cry of Allah Akbar resounded through the streets of Tyre—the cross was torn from the standard, and the once greatest commercial city in the world bent under the Islams' sway. Of the entire conquest of Syria, but little remains to be told. Cæsarea had been some time besieged by the forces under Amru; a long conference between this general and Heraclius's son, Constantine, had terminated unfavourably for peace. The two armies had encountered



each other in the plains ; and, in single combat, a Christian warrior had vanquished the Islam general, Serjabeel, when unexpectedly the victor's hand was severed at the wrist. Winter was now fairly set in ; and the Christians, dispirited by the evil tidings daily flowing in from all quarters, deserted the cross and apostatized. Constantine, acting upon the example of his father Heraclius, fled to Constantinople ; and the Greeks, finding themselves without head or commander, capitulated with Amru, paying as ransom all the wealth belonging to the late emperor and two hundred thousand pieces of silver. Thus the Moslems entered Cæsarea Philippi, Anno Domini 639, in the seventeenth year of the Hegira, the fifth year of Omar's Caliphate, and the twenty-ninth of the reign of Heraclius : with its fall, well might the children of the cross have raised up their voices and cried with the prophet Isaiah, "*Howl, ye ships of Tarshish ; for your strength is laid waste ; in the city is left desolation, and the gate is smitten with destruction.*" Alas ! that crescent banner, first raised by the prophet in the arid plains of central Arabia, spread a lengthening shadow over the fair countries of Palestine and Syria ; so that in less than a score of years the Islam caliph had marked himself a boundary line of conquest, so far north as the site of the battle-field of Alexander and Darius, the famed plains of Issus. Once more was peace and tranquillity for a time restored. Oxen were yoked to the plough ; people had learned to submit with all humility to the newly-imposed yoke ; and the conquerors and the conquered settled down, for a time, side by side, to share in the toil and profits of peaceful welfare, and to enjoy

every good gift, such as have been lavished upon this fair land of promise. So the sun rose and set; and the frost of winter disappeared from the earth; but with the mild congenial spring there rose up an enemy, even more formidable than had proved the invasions of the Islams, sparing neither sex nor age, nor rank nor profession. A direful pestilence stalked over the countries so lately the site of warfare and carnage, and where peace had enjoyed a short interval. Thousands of the Syrians were swept off by the mortality: twenty-five thousand of the Islams found graves in their newly-acquired territories. Amongst those that fell victims to the baneful scourge, were Abu-Obeidah, Eben-Aboo-Sophian, and Serjabeel—three of the most distinguished commanders of the Mahometan army, whose exploits and achievements have been already recorded. However deluded by the tenets of the creed they professed, these three were undoubtedly brave and upright men. Abu-Obeidah, besides being a courageous soldier, was a strictly moral disciplinarian, and an upright and merciful conqueror. On more than one occasion, he called down upon himself the rebukes of the caliphate, in his scrupulous adherence to the enforcement of morality amongst his troops; and on the occasion of the conquest of Antioch, when the veteran commander made formal complaint to Omar, of a grievous propensity existing amongst his troops, to intermarry with the beautiful Grecian females, the caliph replied — “that soldiers who had so manfully fought and won the battle, merited such sublunary enjoyments; and that such as had no wives at home might espouse whom they chose, and pur-

chase as many slaves as they desired." During these campaigns was also observable the first deviation from the strict letter of the Koran, as regards the prohibition of wine and intoxicating liquors. Several of the Moslem officers and soldiery, having partaken freely of unripe grapes, were seized with spasmodic complaints; as a remedy for which, the free use of wine was prescribed by a Christian Hakeem: and so palatable and infallible did the dose prove to these sons of hotter Arabia, that they indulged in it without restriction; till, overcome by the fumes of the liquor, they were seen staggering about the Moslem camp, to the scandal of all true believers. Such delinquents were subsequently punished by a severe bastinadoing on the soles of the feet; and so this vice was, for the time being, suppressed; gradually only, however, to creep into secret use again, until, as at the present day, it would be hard to find one man professing the Mahometan faith and possessed of the means, who does not practise its secret indulgence.

We have already briefly alluded to the capture by the Christian army of a near relative of the prophet, and esteemed friend of the Caliph Omar—this man, Abdallah Eben Hodafa, by name—was safely conveyed to Constantinople, where it is said he was treated with the utmost respect by Heraclius. On this point, however, accounts seem to differ; for it is said that the emperor failing to convert his distinguished prisoner to the Christian faith, subjected him to the harshest treatment, confining him for three days together in a loathsome dark dungeon, with nothing but swine's

flesh and wine, placed within his reach to satisfy the cravings of nature: these, however, were left untouched; and luckily for the prisoner, the caliph, who had heard of his captivity, speedily despatched a missive, which reached the emperor's hands about this time, and which is said to have been worded somewhat to the following effect.

“‘Bism, Allah!’ in the name of the Most High. Praise be to God, the Sovereign of this world, and of the next; who is alone in his honour and might, and glory; and blessed be Mahomet, his Apostle. Omar-Eleen-Al-Khattab, slave of God, to Heraclius, Emperor of the Greeks; so soon as this epistle reaches your hands, fail not to liberate and send to me Abdallah Eben Hodafa, the Mahometan captive. If you comply with this request, I may have hope that you will be led into the true faith; if not, I will send you men whom the filthy love of lucre has not perverted from the fear of God. Health and happiness to all true believers.”

This laconic but imperative mandate had the immediate desired effect. Heraclius, trembling for his insecure throne, set the Moslem captive at liberty, clothed him in costly apparel, and sent him to Arabia laden with gifts; nor was Heraclius neglectful of propitiating the caliph's favour. He sent Omar a diamond of inestimable worth, which was eventually sold for a large sum: but the abstemious Omar positively refused to enrich his own coffers by this magnificent present, and devoted the proceeds to the public treasury. It was in return for this diamond that Heraclius is said to have

received that fabulous cap, possessed of such rare virtues, that so long as he wore it it eased him of a chronic disorder of the head : so marvellous a cure resulting, according to Arabian writers, in the secret conversion of Heraclius to the Islam faith. This statement and the cap may rank with the legendary tales of the "Thousand and One Nights' Entertainments," or some of our modern Roman Catholic miracles.

We close the conquest of Syria with the death of one of the boldest Islam commanders ; whose early exploits and conquests have been already recorded in these pages. Though perhaps a ferocious and cruel soldier, Khaleed was a bold and successful general ; and there is so much of romance linked with his final disgrace and death, so much unmerited ingratitude in a quarter where it certainly was not to be expected, and so strong an illustration of the fate of many a modern soldier, as bold and more civilized than Khaleed, that we cannot resist pausing awhile on the threshold of Syria, to mark the decline and fall of this notable Moslem general. The fiery disposition of Khaleed, his temerity and extravagance, ill accorded with the notions and wishes of the Caliph Omar ; the invincible success of his arms in Irak and Syria, the implicit obedience on all occasions yielded to the commands of his superiors, and his brilliant exploits at the capture of Emessa ; all these sufficed not to reconcile the abstemious and cautious Omar to his weaker points ; possibly there was a grain of wounded pride latent in the bosom of Omar, which swelled into something closely resembling jealousy,

when the deeds and victories of Khaleed were celebrated in verse, by Eschaut, a noted Arabian poet, who made him the theme of lofty eulogy and the hero of the whole Syrian conquest. Khaleed was not proof to adulation; and being notoriously as generous as he was brave, he gave the poet thirty thousand pieces of silver; such an act called down upon himself the vengeance of the caliph, who, offended beyond measure at the arrogance and assumption of Khaleed, instituted a charge against him of defrauding the public treasury; at the same time ordering that he should be deprived of his command in the presence of the whole assembled army. Omar asserted that even if the money thus squandered had come from his own coffers, such an act of extravagance was unwarrantable, not being in accordance with the precepts contained in the Koran. On strict investigation, Khaleed was honourably acquitted: but the caliph, not satisfied with the finding of the court, subjected the veteran warrior to a heavy fine, which occasioned much displeasure amongst the soldiery, who were devotedly attached to Khaleed. Omar caused it to be publicly signified that he had punished him, not on account of deceit or fraud, but because he had permitted the channel of praise and thanksgiving to be perverted from its right course, and presumptuously received as his due what was ascribable to the Almighty alone; for in His hands were the successes and the reverses of warfare. Broken down by age, and by the effects of incessant and arduous campaigns, bearing upon his person not a few wounds, loaded with degradations and injuries in the evening

of life, Khaleed died; after having done more for the Islam cause with his sword than all the other commanders had done. But if he was dishonoured in life, he was honoured in death; lamented and beloved by the whole multitude of Islam soldiers; deeply mourned by his own immediate kindred—so much so, that the women of his race cut off their hair at his sepulture—and when it was discovered after his death, that of all the booty which had fallen to his share during his many conquests there remained only his favourite mare, one slave, and some warlike accoutrements—so liberal had he been of his hardly contested wealth—then Omar became aware of the injustice he had done to Khaleed during his lifetime, and wept in bitter contrition over his grave. And so we, in letting the scene fall upon the conquest of Syria, desire to render to every man his due; for, unquestionably, however ferocious or uncivilized as a citizen, Khaleed was a skilful and courageous commander.

## CHAPTER VII.

### PERSIAN CONQUESTS.

Persian campaign—Capture of Hira—Its immense wealth—Tribute pouring into Medina—War Elephants—Death of Obeidah Safki—Total discomfiture of the Saracens—Disagreements between the Persians—First visit to Baghdad—Incidents of Persian history—Accession of Yezdegard the Third—Saracen embassy, and its insulting reception.

WHILE the Islam force was rapidly overrunning the provinces of Palestine and Syria, the opulent countries of Persia also became subject to the Mahometan yoke. The expedition sent into Persia was at first placed under the command of the invincible Khaleed, by the caliph Abu-Bekir. With only ten thousand men under his command, he marched into Irak, a region then tributary to Persia, and extending from the mountains of Assyria and Medea on the east, to the Syrian and Arabian deserts on the west and south, having Mesopotamia for its northern boundary. The wealth of the kingdom of Hira, westward of Babylonia, had an almost fabulous repute; and the magnificence of Hira, the capital, sounds more like romance than reality. One of its palaces is said to have been of such transcendent beauty, that the monarch, jealous of its being excelled by some other structure, caused the



luckless architect to be cast headlong from a tower. Khaleed slew the king, and captured his kingdom; sending the first tribute ever levied by Moslems, together with a royal captive, the son of the deceased king, to Medina. Next fell Aila, governed by Hormuz, a Persian noble. Here Khaleed got, as part of the booty, a crown of very great value, which, as also an elephant, were with the usual fifth portion despatched to the caliph. So Khaleed progressed from victory to victory, till the crescent was planted by the banks of that old river, the Euphrates; and there Khaleed proposed the usual terms to the Persian monarch, informing him at the same time that if he refused compliance, he would beard him in his own den, with men who loved death as much as the Persian monarch loved life. The trophies and the booty continually pouring in from Persia into Medina, kept the people in a wild state of enthusiasm; and even the old caliph, unable longer to restrain himself, broke out into a rhapsody about Khaleed, declaring that womankind was too feeble to give birth to such another hero. This, remember, was the eulogium bestowed upon the self-same man, whose evening of life closed the pages of our last chapter. About this time Khaleed was removed to the command of the Syrian army, and handing over the Islam troops in Persia to Mosena Eben Haris, Khaleed left with fifteen hundred horse for Bosra, on the Syrian frontier; shortly afterwards relinquishing his command to Abu-Obeidah, as his patron, Abu-Bekir died, and Omar, who was no friend of Khaleed, succeeded to the caliphate. This takes us back to the thirteenth year of the Hegira. When

Khaleed besieged these countries, the condition of affairs in Persia was most lamentable. Khosen the Second had been often defeated by the Greeks, and was finally deposed and murdered by an unnatural son, who for the furtherance of his schemes is said to have massacred seventeen of his brothers. Being eventually baffled and disappointed in his expectations, he soon after died a maniac. His son succeeded him, in 628, an infant, who was speedily slain. Then came a usurper, Shereyer, one of the Persian nobles; and he also fell a speedy victim to his own ambition. Turan Docht, a daughter of Khosen the Second, reigned eighteen months. Upon her deposition came Shah Shenendah; and, after him, Arzemi Docht, or Arzemia, a sister of Turan Docht; and who ascended the throne A.D. 632: she reigned in magnificence at Madayn on the Tigris, without counsellors or prime minister, and was a perfect Amazon, though possessed of strikingly beautiful and effeminate features. Mosena Eben Haris, the successor of Khaleed, who had been appointed emir or governor of Sewad by the Caliph Omar (Sewad being the newly-acquired territory in Irak Arabi), was soon confronted by the troops of Arzemia. Abu-Obeidah Safki and Sabit Eben Kais had been sent, with a reinforcement of a thousand chosen men, to join Haris, and Obeidah Safki was to assume the military command. Arzemia sent Rustum Eben Feruz Shah, with thirty thousand men, to repel the invaders. He himself halted on the confines of Irak; sending forward strong detachments, under Prince Narsist and General Dehaban. These were routed by the troops under Sakfi; and Rustum,

arriving too late for their succour, discovered to his dismay that the whole of Sewad was in possession of the Islams. Arzemia sent Rustum a reinforcement of three thousand men and thirty elephants, under Behman Dechadu, or "the shaggy eye-browed." These elephants were intended to terrify the invaders; especially *Mahmoud*, a celebrated white elephant, on which Abrah, the Ethiopian, had once invaded Mecca and assailed the Caaba. With it came the sacred standard, originally a blacksmith's apron, raised by a disciple of Vulcan, named Kaoh, for rallying the people to the deliverance of their country from Sohark; but enlarged and decorated with most costly gems. Both these were considered sure harbingers of victory; and so the Persians marched confidently to the battle-field. The Islams did not exceed nine thousand in all. The Persians exceeded that number considerably, and were encamped near the ruins of Babylon. Safki was all for battle; Sabit and Mosena counselled him, but in vain, to desist till reinforcements could arrive from Arabia. Mosena constructed a bridge of boats across the Euphrates, and led on his reluctant troops; who on reaching the opposite bank, were charged by Rustum at the head of his cavalry. A fierce battle ensued: and the crescent standard passed from hand to hand, till seven of its bearers were numbered with the dead. The Persians retreated only to give way to the elephants and a superior force. Safki faced these fearlessly, shouting to his people to strike at the trunks of their huge opponents, he himself setting them an example by severing that of the white elephant at a single blow;

but at the same time he slipped and fell, and was trampled to death. Mosena now proved himself a courageous and able general. The bridge over which they had crossed had been destroyed by the Persians, and the Islams fled in dismay. Two thousand fled to Medina; four thousand were slain or drowned; and the remainder entrenched themselves with Mosena, who had skilfully kept off the Persians, whilst the main body of the army crossed, by means of a temporary bridge; he himself being the last to leave the fatal field. This was the only signal discomfiture which the Islams had received; and the battle of El Jesser, or the bridge, is ruefully chronicled as having occurred in the thirteenth year of the Hegira, A.D. 634. The Persian commanders, disagreeing amongst themselves, retreated to Modayn, in lieu of following up their advantages; and Mosena, having received reinforcements from the caliph, again took the field; hovering about Babylon with his troops, even plundering and wasting the country about the Euphrates. To put a stop to this, Arzemia sent Mohran with twelve thousand picked horsemen; and Mosena being acquainted with his approach, prepared to resist him. The two forces encountered on the confines of the desert, and the Moslem commander immediately charged. Both sides fought valiantly; but the Persians seemed to have the vantage ground, until Mosena and Mohran met hand to hand. After a sharp struggle, the Persian commander was cut down, and his troops fled in dismay to Modayn. Then the Islams for the first time visited Baghdad, intent upon plunder. That place, afterwards the seat of the caliphate, was then

an inconsiderable village. A fair, however, was being held there, which afforded the despoilers ample plunder. These tidings alarmed the Persians not a little. Poor Queen Azemia fell a victim to civil discord, being murdered by Rustom, the son of her discarded lover. Another son of Khosrus succeeded to the throne, but within forty days after his accession was poisoned; and the priests and nobles proclaimed as king, Khosrus' grandson, a lad of only fifteen. This was Yezdegard III.; and the first measure of his reign was to place a large army under his uncle Rustom, the murderer of Azemia. At the same time Omar was not backward in preparing to meet the Persians, and wished personally to accompany the reinforcements. From this, however, he was dissuaded by wise counsellors, and he sent Saad Eben Abou Wakkas in his place. Saad was a good and zealous soldier, and had once been a familiar of the prophet, a distinction which gained for him the command of the forces in Persia. On quitting Medina, his troops only amounted to about six thousand: these however were upon their route considerably augmented by recruits; so that when they joined Mosena's small but gallant force, the Islam troops amounted to nearly thirty-one thousand, under eminent commanders and zealous professors of Mahometanism. Three days after the arrival of El Wakkas at Irak Arabi, the gallant Mosena breathed his last; and—though the immediate cause of his death is never alluded to, the sequel casts foul suspicion upon Wakkas, who certainly evinced himself capable of any act of brutality, from his subsequent treatment of the beau-

tiful widow of Mosena whom he had espoused. The Persian force was on the frontiers of Irak Arabi, and considerably outnumbered the Islams. Saad sent for reinforcements, and whilst these were provided, acting under Omar's instructions, he dispatched an embassy to Yezdegard III., asking him to embrace Islamism. The ambassador and his retinue, clad in the simple Arab garb, with patriarchal beards, were conducted into the presence of the haughty young king, who received them in the palace of Khosrus at Modayn, with supreme contempt. In answer to the speech, made by Na'man Eben Muskey, one of the mission, who propounded the new faith to the youthful potentate, Yezdegard replied, after insulting the whole Arab race, and their simple and abstemious mode of living, that they were like the hungry fox, whom the kind-hearted husbandman had sheltered in his vineyard, and who repaid this kindness by introducing other foxes, and destroying his grapes. "Receive," said he, "of my generosity whatever your wants demand; load your camels with corn and dates, and depart, but make no long tarrying within my dominions, else will the fate be yours of the fox, slain by the enraged husbandman." To this Sheik Mukair Eben Zamarah replied, that all this was most true; that the Arabs had sometime feasted on green lizards in the desert, drank brackish water, buried their daughters to suppress surplus population, and had worn coarse garments; but that all this was before the time of Mahomet, who had been sent expressly to enlighten their dark understandings, and who had commanded them to carry his faith to the ends of the

earth, till the whole universe should be converted to Islamism. In this strain spoke the Moslem embassy, much to the astonishment and indignation of Yezdegard, who, telling them that the sword ought to be the only reply to their insolence, caused each man of the embassy to be loaded with a sack of earth, bound to his shoulders, and so sent them out of his presence ; adding, that this was to satisfy their craving for the possession of Persian soil, and would serve as a sample of the earth, in which their chiefs and commanders would shortly find a grave, if they persisted in their attempts to give the Persians battle. The mission, on distancing the city, rid themselves of their burthens ; and loading their camels with the same, returned to Saad Eben Abu Wakkas, declaring it to be the emblem of empire, and that Allah would give the Islam arms success over Persia. The two armies encountered each other on the plains of Kadesia, near a canal of the Euphrates. Saad Eben Wakkas was troubled with boils, and unable to accompany his men on the second day's fight ; though he managed to keep his horse, at the cost of severe pain, all through the first day, animating his troops with the frequent war-cry of " Allah Ackbar ! " The huge unwieldy elephants, decked out in all the array of Persian pomp ; the brilliant and gaudy attire of the Persians themselves, some of their commanders presenting to the astounded gaze of the Arabs one blaze of costly jewellery ; the accoutrements, rich and inlaid with gold and silver, of the cavalry ; and the huge masses of overwhelming multitudes that swept down with loud and triumphant shouts towards the invaders,—these were

sufficient to intimidate troops of less nerve or less firm purpose than the Moslems. On them however, they were but a fresh incentive, since for every Persian slain a rich booty fell to his vanquisher; whereas the Persian who struck down an enemy had no other recompense than bruises and wounds, and the coarse horse-hair cloak of an Arab. The horses of the Moslem cavalry fled at the sight of the elephants, and became for a time unmanageable. Just when fortune seemed to turn the victory in favour of the Persians, reinforcements arrived from Syria, and night closing in, the combatants, by mutual consent, withdrew to their respective encampments. This ended the first day's fight of the battle, chronicled by the Moslems as *the day of succour*. The second day Saad was still confined to his tent, and the day passed without any pitched battle. Many warriors, however, champions from either army, fell in single combat; and the beautiful widow of Mosena Eben Haris, now the wife of Saad, stood gazing sorrowfully upon the battle-field, and she sighed to think how her gallant dead husband would have spurred on to conquest had he been alive. "*Alas! Mosena Eben Haris, where art thou?*" was her involuntary exclamation, as she saw many of the flower of the Moslem army laid low that day. This exclamation so enraged Saad, that he violently struck her on the face with a dagger, exclaiming in his wrath, "*Come what may, I will mount to-morrow.*" That night detachments were sent to lie in ambush, until the heat of next day's engagement, when they were to approach with music banners and acclamations, as though reinforcements just about ar-



living. Morning came, still was the malady master of Saad. The Moslems themselves were ignorant of the stratagem now practised. The two armies were engaged in obstinate conflict. The Moslems were exhilarated with the idea of more succour being at hand. The Persian elephants turned and fled, doing far greater havoc in their own camp than in that of the Islams; and, when night closed in, the struggle still raged fiercely. Rustom urged his troops to continue the battle throughout the night. Mid-day came, and with it a violent whirlwind of dust, which concealed the contending troops from each other; but it blew in the faces of the Persians, and Rustom, breathless and half choked, sought shelter under his tent by the river side, where also rested a number of camels heavily laden with treasure. The tent was blown into the water, and Rustom sheltered himself under the camels. Here he was surprised by some Arab soldiers; and one of them, loosening the costly burthen from a camel's back, it fell upon the Persian and broke his spine. Writhing with intense agony, he rolled into the water, but was dragged out again and beheaded; thus suffering almost as cruel a death as his cruelty had inflicted on Arzemia, the young and unfortunate queen. This decided the battle in favour of the Islams. The Persians fled; terror-stricken at the sight of the gory head of their late commander, paraded by the Moslems at the end of a lance. Immense booty fell to the lot of the conquerors: the sacred standard was captured, and, to the fortunate soldier who captured it, were awarded thirty thousand pieces of gold. The jewels with which it

was studded were added to the value of other booty, and equally divided. Helal, the soldier who had struck off the head of Rustom, stripped by permission his body, and gained an immense prize in the costly robes and jewelled belts of the slain Persian. It was reckoned that seven thousand Moslems and thirty thousand Persians were left dead upon the field; but the most serious loss to Persia was the sacred banner, so superstitiously connected by the natives with the prosperity or the downfall of their empire. At the close of the conquest, Saad was compelled to undergo a medical examination, to satisfy the soldiers that absolute necessity and not cowardice had restrained him from joining in the affray. The soldiery were soon satisfied on this score; though history does not inform us whether the beautiful bride of Saad had any recompense for the brutal outrage he had committed upon her. Omar commanded Saad to remain in the neighbourhood of Kadesia, till the newly-conquered country should be brought under complete subjugation. Mosques were erected for the propagation of the Mahometan faith, taxes fixed and levied, and, by the suggestion of Omar the city of Bassorah, at the lower part of Irak-Arabi, was founded, near the junction of the Euphrates and the Tigris. This was in the fourteenth year of the Hegira, and it was intended as a check upon the satrap or prince of Khasestan, who had been fighting with the Persians in the battle of Kadesia; at the same time that its position was well adapted for commercial views, and could not fail, when the Moslem power should be firmly settled and peace established, to command an

extensive trade with the interior, and with India. Soon numbers flocked into the newly-founded city ; merchants from all parts congregated thither ; traffic increased ; and, though the climate was at all times injurious, Bassorah speedily rose to be what it now continues, a town through which a considerable import and export trade is continually passing to and from Persia, India, and the interior.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### CONQUEST OF PERSIA—CONTINUED.

Flight of Yezdegard—The famous palace of Khosrus and its immense wealth—Interview between Omar and the satrap—Council in the mosque at Medina—First encounter between the Saracens and the ancestors of the Turks.

SAAD Eben Abu Wakkas, having regulated the country around, and settled its jurisdiction, followed up actively the subjugation of the entire Persian empire. Dispirited by their late misfortunes, the Persians hardly resisted the progress of the Islams: the capture of their sacred standard operated adversely on their depressed and superstitious natures: the once great Babylon was numbered with the other captured cities, and the Islams crossed the Tigris and marched upon the capital. Saad's army had suffered considerably from sickness, as also from the slain and subsequently dead of wounds in the battle of Kadesia; so that when the Moslem general marched upon Modayn he had with him barely twenty thousand men. This number was, however, nearly tripled on its route; multitudes of malcontents and proselytes flocking into the Islam camp from recently-subjugated cities. The Persian capital had no want of troops, but they grievously lacked men of courage to command them. The king's counsellors suggested immediate flight as the only

chance of escape with life. Yezdegard lingered, unwilling to depart and yet fearing to remain, till the ominous banners and the loud trumpets and drums of the Islams announced their near approach. Then all ignominiously fled. The king sought refuge in Hohran, a town at the foot of the Medean hill. In the hurry of flight, when everyone looked to the main chance of escape, much valuable property was left behind; and the Moslems uninterruptedly marched into and took possession of the town and its enormous booty; becoming at once, and without exchanging a blow, masters of the celebrated Ctesiphon, the then modern Modayn, which had once repulsed a well-organized Roman army, furnished with all the known war-engines of those times. The Arabian general sung aloud, and his troops caught up the strain, quoting from the Koran a passage referring to the abandonment by Pharaoh and his troops of their habitations when they perished in the Red Sea:—“*How many gardens and fountains and fields of corn and fair dwellings and other sources of delight did they leave behind them! Thus we dispossessed them thereof, and gave the same for an inheritance to another people. Neither heaven nor earth wept for them—they were unpitied.*” So chanted Saad and his troops as they rode through the deserted streets of that magnificent city; gazing with astonishment on its glorious vineyards and gardens, and its exquisitely-built palaces and edifices. There was no reckoning the booty that fell to each man, no summing up the amount of damage done by those reckless freebooters, who mocked at luxuries, and had never learnt to appreciate the works of art.

By-and-by, as the joyous bands roved from street to street, going in and out wherever they listed, the superb palace of Khosrus, constructed of polished marble, burst suddenly upon them, like a bright vision in the golden noontide sun. Then these Islams remembered that their prophet had predicted, when informed that the haughty Persian monarch had disdainfully torn up his letter, "*Even so shall Allah rend his empire in pieces!*" "Behold!" exclaimed the troops, shading their eyes to gaze the more stedfastly upon that monument of princely folly—"behold the fulfilment of our prophet's prediction!" The palace and its contents were respected by the soldiery, because Saad himself lodged there. Amongst the astonishing wealth and luxury found within its halls, we are informed that the wardrobes were full of brilliant apparel, and all the suites of rooms furnished throughout with oriental luxury. A silken carpet covered the flooring of one vast room, and had been wrought to represent a garden. The petals of various flowers were represented by appropriately-coloured gems and pearls, whilst all the leaves were emeralds, and the fountains were diamonds and sapphires. In the hall of audience, the vaulted roof was constructed to represent a firmament, with golden spheres and corresponding movements, to represent the planets and the zodiacal signs; a jewelled crown of immense weight, hung suspended from the ceiling by a strong gold chain, immediately over a magnificent throne supported on silver columns. In the armoury, besides a splendid assortment of all kinds of arms, inlaid with gold silver and jewels, there was a horse

of pure gold, bestridden by a horseman of silver, and a camel of pure silver, bestridden by a rider of pure gold, all the accoutrements being emblazoned with jewels. Such accounts, given by authorities like D'Herbelot, &c., seem to reduce to ordinary everyday facts the fables of the Arabian Nights, as regards magnificence and luxuriance; but the modern discoveries in Nineveh only adduce further evidence of the unrivalled extent of vain pomp and glory wherein princes and nobles formerly delighted, and the astounding pitch of ostentation at which they ultimately arrived, till magnificence seems to have reached a climax, and then rapidly sunk into insignificance. We are told that the fifth portion of the spoil, sent according to usage to Medina, formed heavy loads for nine hundred strong camels; and though well accustomed to the frequent arrival of rich booty, the caliph and the people were astonished and rejoiced beyond measure when this extensive caravan reached its destination. A mosque was built out of part of the proceeds; and the superb carpet already alluded to, after many discussions between the caliph and the wise counsellors of Medina, was literally cut into pieces, without attention to the pattern, and so divided amongst the chiefs of Arabia. One share alone is said to have fetched eight thousand drachms of silver. Thus, whilst Palestine was lamenting over the fall of the holy city of Jerusalem, the same people, in the same year, had vanquished the capital of Persia; both events occurring in the sixteenth year of the Hegira, A.D. 637. An immense fair, held at Medina, attracted speculative merchants from all quarters of the earth; and

shortly the rich spoil of Persia had been distributed over the globe, as a whirlwind might scatter the sand of the sea-shore. Wakkas remained with the head-quarters of his troops in garrison at Modayn, sending his brother Hashem, with twelve thousand troops, to capture or drive out Yezdegard from his retirement at the base of the Medean hills. The progress of the Moslems was however contested by Persian troops at Jalula, on the road to Holwan; nor was it till after eighty assaults, and six months being besieged, that the Persians were starved into submission. Yezdegard, learning the fate of Jalula, fled to the city of Rai; leaving Habesh, a general, to make the best stand he could against the invaders. This Rai, or Rages, is referred to in the 1st chapter of Tobit, at the 14th verse:—“*And I went into Media, and left in trust with Gabael, the brother of Gabrias, at Rages a city of Media, ten talents of silver.*” Thither Yezdegard fled, travelling night and day in a tatarawan, carried between mules, and thither Habesh speedily followed; for he had been defeated at the first encounter with the Moslems. Modayn proved insalubrious for the troops; and Saad fixed his encampment at Cufa, on the western side of the Euphrates, where there was plenty of water and pasturage, the two great essentials to these migratory people. This Cufa, according to some tradition of the Islams, was supposed to be the site of the spot where Noah and his numerous followers entered the ark. It was also said that the Serpent was banished to this place after the fall of our first parents; hence becoming the proverbial designation of guile and deceit, as Cufa, or Metel-Cufa; the



Euphrates was Nahal il Cufa; and some of the characters of the Arabic alphabet are even now termed "cufia." The town of Cufa was built of materials from the deserted city of Modayn; and Saad, who had imbibed some taste for splendour, and who probably wished to gratify his beautiful wife, built a magnificent kiosk, in a lovely and secluded spot by the river side. This kiosk was burnt by order of the caliph, who, fearing that effeminacy might creep in amongst the soldiery, prohibited all lavish indulgence, and, administering to Saad this stern rebuke, caused him forthwith to abate his luxurious ostentation. Cufa is celebrated in Moslem tradition as having been built the same year (or about 638 A.D.) that Omar married Orum Kolsom, the granddaughter of the prophet. This marriage strengthened his alliance with Othman and Ali, the latter of whom was now his father-in-law; though it would appear that this was not his first wife, as about this time he caused one of his own sons to undergo the bastinado, for having been found intoxicated with wine. Susa, said to contain the tomb of the prophet Daniel, stood in the centre of a number of wealthy cities in that province, lying between Babylon and Faristan, and governed by the satrap, or viceroy of Ahwaz, to whom allusion has already been made as having taken part in the battle of Kadesia. Hormuzan (so was this viceroy called) lived in kingly splendour, being of lineal descent from the royal family of Persia. This prince beheld the rising Islam town of Bassorah with no favourable eyes, and determined within himself to raze it to its foundations at once. Bassorah was reinforced

by troops from the caliph, and from Saad at Cufa. The satrap was repeatedly defeated, and was at length but too glad to sue for peace, ceding one-half his territories and all his cities, save four, to the Moslems. Yezdegard blamed the satrap of Faristan for not co-operating with Hormuzan, and this unlucky viceroy broke his faith with the Moslems, to show his devotion to the foolish young king. Troops from all parts of the now extensive Islam dominions were concentrated at the Euphrates to complete the conquest of Ahwaz. Susa was the last stand made by the satrap, and six months were wasted in sallies and assaults. At last came Bara Eben Molek as commander-in-chief, and the troops, who superstitiously revered him as having been an especial favourite of the prophet, made him swear by the Koran to overthrow the Persians, which he did; at the same time declaring that he had a strong presentiment that he himself should never survive the combat. In this opinion he was right; for he fell, pierced by an arrow from the satrap's bow, at the very next assault. At length Susa was entered, through the treachery of a Persian; but Hormuzan was in a safe tower; with a thousand expert archers, and, to avoid unnecessary bloodshed, it was agreed that he should proceed unmolested to the presence of the caliph, to be by him disposed of as he should deem fit. It is said that the satrap, on being conducted into the presence of Omar, found that simple Arab asleep on the ground, with his staff under his head, and clad in the meanest robes; nor would Omar hold any converse with the gaudily-clad captive, till he also had assumed the simple garb of

Arabia. He was at length prevailed upon to embrace Islamism, and thenceforward resided at Medina, where he became a useful counsellor to the caliph, often aiding him with valuable information and advice during the prosecution of the Persian conquest. Ahwaz was subjected the nineteenth year of the Hegira, A.D. 640, being the year after the great mortality in Syria, and coeval, as will be hereafter seen, with the Mahometan conquest of Egypt.

Saad was suspended from the command of the Moslem forces in Persia, owing to frequent complaints having reached the caliph, that notwithstanding the severe rebuke he had already received, he continued to imitate the Persian monarchs in display of pomp and state; moreover, it was stated that he had failed to execute justice in the camp, or to divide the spoil fairly. When intelligence of his disgrace reached Yezdegard at Rei, he is said to have conceived some hopes of retrieving the losses sustained by Persia; and called upon all the yet unconquered provinces to take up arms in the cause of national defence. Nehavend was appointed for the rendezvous of the troops—a place of great antiquity, about fifty miles distant from Hauradan, the ancient Ecbatana, and said to have been founded by Noah. An hundred and fifty thousand Persians were here concentrated; and when the news reached Medina, Omar called a council at the mosque, to take into consideration the best means of crushing this in all probability last attempt of the Persians to shake off the Islam yoke. The caliph proposed heading the troops in person; this was resisted on all hands;

and it was finally determined to appoint Na'man-Eben-Mukry, then in Ahwaz, commander of the forces;—thus, to use the words of a distinguished writer, “It was singular to see the fate of the once mighty and magnificent empires of the Orient, Syria, Chaldea, Babylonia, and the dominions of the Medes and Persians, thus debated and decided in the mosque of Medina, by a handful of grey-headed Arabs, who but a few years previously had been homeless fugitives.” Reinforcements joined Na'man at Nehavend. The Persians were commanded by Firuzan, a veteran, who, aware of the impetuosity of the Arab invaders, carefully entrenched himself; determined to weary out the Islams, whose general bivouacked in front of the Persian camp, and vainly endeavoured to bring matters to an issue. Two months elapsed, and this state of inactivity continued. Suddenly the Moslem encampment was broken up, and the Islams retreated, hastily leaving behind them some articles of slight value. The Persians, deceived by this movement, sallied forth, and pursued their enemy: on the second day, these, having drawn them a sufficient distance from their entrenchments, turned and gave battle; in an hour the victory was gained, and the Persians fled, but in the pursuit Na'man was slain by an arrow, being succeeded in his command by his brother Hadifah. Amongst the booty captured from the flying multitudes were forty mule-loads of honey. The veteran Firuzan was overtaken and slain; and it is said that a hundred thousand Persians perished on that day—in the battle, called by the Islams, the victory of victories, and fought in the nineteenth year of

the Hegira, Anno Domini 641. The remnants of the Persian troops concentrated their broken forces close to Hamadan; but, being again routed by the Islams, took refuge in the citadel. This city, the ancient Ecbatana, was once the principality of the Medes, situated on a steep eminence, that commanded a beautiful position, over fruitful valleys and plains, intersected by rivulets, that flowed from springs on Mount Elwand: within the city were the tombs of Esther and Mordecai. The garrison was commanded by Habesh, who had once commanded at Holwan, and who, to gain time, entered into a fraudulent compact with Hadifah; but was ultimately routed after a hardly-contested battle of three days. The Islams, now masters of the capital of Media, marched against Rei: Yezdegard fled on their approach; Sizawesh-Eben-Barham, a patriotic noble, undertook to defend the city, but was slain with the greater part of his troops; the Islams having been privately admitted into the garrison through the treachery of one Zain, who was subsequently made governor of Rei.

The Islams now proceeded against Kumish, Damghan, Jurgan (ancient Hereania), and Tabaristan. "This Persian religion of ours has become obsolete," was the remark of Farkhan, a veteran commander; "the new religion is carrying everything before it. My advice, therefore, is, peace and tribute." In this wisdom, all who heard him concurred. Tabaristan paid annually five thousand drachms.

Azirbijan, a country north of Hamadan, which it had assisted, and Rei, extending to the rocky Cau-

cussus, and the stronghold of the Magians, or fire worshippers, was next assailed and won. The mountains were yet to be subdued; the passes had been barricaded through centuries against aggression from the shadowy land of Gog and Magog,—that terrible fabulous people riding on fiery skeleton steeds, decorated with the hairy scalps of their enemies. Many of these strongholds were taken by the Moslems: the most important was Bab-el-Abwab (the gate of gate), guarding a defile between the Caucassus and the Caspian Sea. A superstition is connected with this pass, which had originally three gates; two of these have sunk, and when the third disappears, they say the day of judgment will arrive. Abdul-Rahman-Eben-Rabiah was appointed to command the passes; and he made a compact with Shah-Zad, a native chief, to guard them against the northern hordes, upon consideration of being freed from taxation. The Arab had many conversations with the Persian chief respecting the people and country beyond the passes, which served to excite Abdul-Rahman to undertake forays. Here for the first time the Islams encountered the ancestors of the present Turks, dwelling in the regions between the Caspian and the Euxine Seas. It is said that these people were astonished to encounter men so different in aspect from their old accustomed enemies the Persians, and asked whether they were angels or sons of Adam? to which the Islams replied, that they were the latter protected by the former. One man sped an arrow, and slew a Moslem; the Turks saw that the strangers were mortal, and hard fighting ensued. Abdul-Rahman

besieged Belandscher, a stronghold of the Bulgarians or Huns, a people like the Turks then unknown to fame. These combined and routed the Moslems; Abdul-Rahman was slain, his troops retreated within the Derbends, and his brother succeeded to the command: but the body of the unfortunate general was preserved as a relic by the superstitious ancestors of the Turks, who erected a shrine in honour of it, where they offered up prayers in time of dearth.

## CHAPTER IX.

### CONQUEST OF EGYPT.

March towards Egypt—Jaffa—Askelon—Gaza—Siege and Surrender of Farwak—Siege of Memphis—Treachery of Mokawkas—Memphis taken—Capitation tax—The Patriarch Benjamin—March to Alexandria—Siege of the city—Great loss of the Moslems—The city evacuated and recaptured—Again taken by the Moslems—Conquest of Egypt—Destruction of the Alexandrian Library—Death of Heraclius.

WHILE the Islams were prosecuting their conquests in the distant Persian empire, Amru was leading his victorious forces from Cæsarea-Philippi towards the ancient land of the Pharaohs. Their route lay along the sea-shore, and the familiar towns of Jaffa, Askelon and Gaza were traversed by the troops of Islam. Their march through the desert was doubtlessly rapid; for they were well inured to what ordinary travellers might consider privations and exposure; but the forces of Amru had barely crossed the frontiers of Syria, and entered upon the dreary waste before them, when they were overtaken by a messenger from the caliph with important dispatches. The Arabian commander-in-chief, however, suspicious of their purport, evaded giving the messenger an opportunity of delivering his letters until the troops had encamped about El Arish. Here the courier



was courteously received, and the dispatches respectfully perused. The tenor of the caliph's commands was to the effect that if the Moslem general were yet within the boundaries of Palestine, he was there to remain, till such time as sufficient reinforcements could be sent to assist him in the arduous enterprise of marching into a country so well garrisoned as Egypt then was. If, on the contrary, Amru had already entered upon Egyptian territory, he was then to continue his march; and the caliph engaged that sufficient succour should be sent to him at the earliest opportunity. On perusing this epistle, Amru demanded of those around them, whether they were in Palestine or in Egypt?—the answer of course was that El Arish was under Egyptian sway. "Then," said Amru, "with the blessing of Allah we will fulfil the caliph's commands." The messenger returned with this intelligence to Medina; the encampment was struck, and the Arabs pursued their desert route. Farwak, or Pelusium, the key to Egypt, situated on the shores of the Mediterranean, on the isthmus separating it from the Red Sea, and linking Syria, Arabia, and Egypt together, was the first place that, after a month's obstinate siege, surrendered to the Moslems. Amru was a perfect general, not only well skilled in the tactics of warfare, but also possessing that foresight which most eastern warriors so grievously lack. He was cautious how he proceeded in the unequal contest, carefully reconnoitred the country, and proposed to the caliph a plan for connecting, by means of a canal, the two seas that laved the shores of the isthmus.

Omar, fearing a maritime invasion, objected to this proposition; and so the matter fell to the ground. Amru then marched upon Mesrah, or Memphis; then, with the single exception of Alexandria, the best fortified city in Egypt. Its position was east of the Pyramids, on the western bank of the Nile. A deep trench, filled with rusty spikes and nails, surrounded the citadel, whilst the Arabs had not with them even the barbarous engines then used for battering fortified places; yet they harassed the besieged citizens beyond measure, cutting off their supplies, sweeping down upon all foraging parties, starving out the garrison, or cutting them off by piecemeal. This siege lasted seven months; and the simple turban-capped monuments that sprung up upon the bank-sides of the Nile, and in those ancient plains where the children of Israel through many years toiled as brickmakers under their severe and unjust taskmasters, were so many indications of hardly-contested skirmishes, and lamentable proofs to Amru that his forces, at the best of times but a handful, were being rapidly diminished. While brooding over his unenviable position, seated, but barely sheltered, from the fierce heat of the noontide Egyptian sun by his simple Arabian tent, Amru beheld on the dusky horizon a sudden cloud of dust; which gladdened his heart as much as that cloud did the people when Gehazi from Carmel's top announced the near approach of this harbinger of rain; for he knew by this familiar sign that succour was at hand. None but Arabs could ever brave that heat, tearing over the ground at utmost speed; and so, when the dust

cleared away, his expectations were verified—four thousand men arriving to reinforce his small army. Still Mesrah would never have been subjugated but for the treachery of one Mokawkas, a Copt, descended from a noble family. This man had so ingratiated himself with the Emperor Heraclius, that he rose to be governor of the city; but at heart he was a Jacobite, denying the existence of Christ as God and Man. The greater mass of the Meserites were of the same persuasion, and detested the Greek citizens with utter malignity. The governor knew he could prevail upon his co-religionists to side with himself; he was also well aware that during his administration he had by unjust imposts amassed a considerable amount of treasure, which, sooner or later, under the then feeble sway of Heraclius, might fall into the power of invaders. He resolved, therefore, to avoid a too probable evil, and at any cost to secure his own interests. Accordingly he entered into secret negotiations with Amru, and the latter undertook to guarantee the protection of his person and property, on condition that he would admit the Moslem troops into the citadel. To accomplish this the more easily, he secretly removed the garrison to an island on the Nile. Next morning the crescent flag was waving over Memphis, and the Greeks, now apprized of the treachery practised, took to their boats, and fled to the mainland. Mokawkas then went through the unnecessary formula of surrendering the place by capitulation. The harass, or capitation tax, which up to the present day continues to be levied on almost precisely the same principles, was then

established. Boys under sixteen, old men, and women were to be exempt; but all others were to pay annually a tribute of two ducats a head. Further, the surrounding villages were to supply the Moslems with provisions and fodder, being fairly paid for the same; and they were to construct bridges over all the streams which had to be passed by the Islams on their march to Alexandria. Further, that all travellers professing the Mahometan faith should be entitled, while travelling through the country, to three days' hospitality gratuitous. A shrewd man was this Arabian commander, and well he knew how to turn to best account the sectarian contests and aversions existing between the Greeks and the Jacobite Christians. Mokawkas in his hands was an admirable tool, wherewith to work out the easiest method of overrunning the country, and subjugating the whole of Egypt with the least possible trouble or bloodshed. Even the old patriarch Benjamin, anchorite and hermit that he was, ventured forth from his solitude in the desert to hold consultation with this new and reputedly virtuous commander; and Amru caused it to be blazoned forth, that never in his experience had he conversed with a more venerable and excellent patriarch. This bait took well; all the Copts were won over, heart and hand to serve Amru; and so Amru marched forward upon Alexandria, distant from Memphis nearly forty-two leagues. Silently the Arabs marched alongside the Nile's banks, and each hour brought Amru miles nearer to the wealthy metropolis of Egypt. According to stipulation, the people repaired the roads, and erected bridges where they were requisite; yet,

notwithstanding all these facilities, twenty-two entire days were consumed before the Moslems sighted Alexandria. Their path had been contested almost step by step by the Greeks, collected on the channels of the Nile and the Delta. For three days were they repulsed at Kerim Al Shorack by the remnants of the Greek garrison that had fled from Memphis. Finally these retreated in order upon Alexandria; and then Amru planted his standard opposite to the city, and summoned the place to surrender, proposing the usual terms—Islamism, or submission and tribute.—These being indignantly rejected, the siege was carried on with unabating ardour, the besieged making frequent sallies, which harassed the Moslems not a little; but their greatest source of discomfort was that brave garrison of Memphis, who had heretofore thrown many a stumbling-block in the way of Islam progress. The Moslem general, resolving to put an end to these unsatisfactory skirmishes, assailed the chief point of defence, and carried it sword in hand; but his triumph was only momentary, for the whole Grecian forces, rallying on this point, surrounded the gallant Arabians; and, much to the consternation of the Moslem troops, took his faithful slave Werdam, and a general, Moslema Eben Al Mokalled, prisoners. Well was it for Amru that the Greeks were ignorant of his person, and still better that he possessed in Werdam one who, though called a slave, was ready to shed his last drop of blood in the service of his loved master; for on Amru being led before the Grecian governor, that functionary was so struck with the noble air of the captive and the boldness

of his answers, that, supposing him to be some one of consideration amongst the invaders, he ordered one of the guards to strike off his head;—a command which would have been executed, had not Werdam, with admirable presence of mind, seized Amru by the collar, and, giving him a hearty blow across the cheek, called him an impertinent slave, at the same time assuming the office of chief spokesman. He then made a well-devised speech, assuring the governor that the caliph had sent instructions to Amru to raise the siege; that if they were permitted to rejoin their companions, they would make so favourable a report, as would at once induce the Moslem commander to send ambassadors to treat for peace. The governor became his ready dupe. Nor had he long to wait for a proof of his own want of sagacity; for loud shouts of triumph from the Islam camp announced to the disappointed and enraged Greeks that he was no mean captive whom they had suffered thus easily to escape. For fourteen long months was the siege of Alexandria continued. If Amru had lost heart under the losses incurred by his small band at Memphis, before the arrival of reinforcements and the treachery of Mokawkas, his heart now ached again to behold the slaughter committed, and the ravages, from other causes, wasting the flower of his army. Often reinforcements had been sent from the caliphate; not less than three-and-twenty thousand Islams had bitten the dust; still matters remained undecided. Still was Alexandria garrisoned by well-disciplined troops, and still the Moslems were determined to conquer or perish in the attempt. At length the Greeks were

wearied out, and evacuated the city; some proceeding into the interior, some, again, taking ship for Constantinople. The Islam troops marched into the abandoned city, and then they once again looked forth upon the waters of the Mediterranean. Amru prevented his soldiers from plundering; and, leaving a small garrison, he sallied forth with the main body of his troops in pursuit of the fugitive Greeks who had retired into the interior. Meanwhile the vessels, containing those who had intended departing for Constantinople, were still wind-bound upon the coast; and, getting information of Amru's movements, they speedily returned, and recaptured the city, entering it by night, surprising the sentinels, and putting most of the Moslems to the sword. These were heavy tidings for Amru. He hastened back with all speed, deeply upbraiding his own want of foresight in having left so incompetent a garrison for so important a citadel, as also bitterly regretting the loss of so many tried followers. The Greeks had prepared for this; but they had to encounter in the Muslims desperate foes—men spurred on to madness almost by the recollection of the long and wearisome siege already undertaken; men burning to avenge the reckless slaughter of that handful of brave companions, whom the Greeks had indiscriminately slaughtered. The result was, that the attack was fierce and bloody, but of short endurance. Many of the Greeks fell by the sword; others fled to their ships, and returned no more; and once more Alexandria fell under the Moslem yoke, about the same time that Madayn was conquered in Persia, A.D. 640 the eighteenth year of the Hegira. Amru had now

much difficulty in restraining the troops from plunder, till the will of the caliph should be known. That aged man and the people of Medina must have been filled with joy during this eventful year ; for whilst, on the one hand, the nine hundred camel-loads of treasure were entering in long caravans, on the other arrived couriers, to announce the fall of Alexandria, and to apprise the caliph that, amongst other cities now subservient to Moslem yoke, was one that numbered 4000 palaces, 5000 baths, 400 theatres and places of amusement, 12,000 gardens, besides orchards and vineyards, and not less than 40,000 tributary Jews, descendants of that race who had many centuries before been bondsmen in this identical land. Omar strictly prohibited pillage ; and directed that an inventory should be made of all valuables, which should be appropriated for the public service. Amru did as he was instructed ; the whole of Egypt was speedily subjugated ; taxes and tributes were arranged ; and a revenue of twelve million ducats effected for the caliphate. Amru had now some leisure to cultivate his natural tastes and acquirements. He was himself a poet ; and delighted to assemble around him the learned men of the land, and so improve that education and desire for knowledge which had naturally been heretofore neglected. Philoponus, or John the Grammarian, a Jacobite, was his favourite and most learned associate—a man noted for his philological researches, and author of several laborious commentaries and treatises. Little did this man dream that he was yet to become the innocent cause of one of the greatest calamities that civilization and literature have ever sustained. This was



the destruction of the famous Alexandrian library, which had escaped notice in the inventory furnished to the caliph, probably as having been by these untutored conquerors considered utterly worthless. The learned Jacobite, when sufficiently established in terms of friendship with Amru, made bold to solicit that these books might be given to him. His zeal on their behalf awakened Amru's suspicion that they were of higher value than he had deemed. Consequently he thought it requisite to apply for the caliph's permission; and that old man, Omar, blotting his fair name with the reproach of ignorance and superstition, thus wrote in reply:—"If these books are in conformity with the Koran, they are not requisite; for the Koran by itself is all-sufficient: and if they differ from the prophet's book, they are pernicious. So, in either case, let them be burned." And burnt they were, at least as far as we can learn from Arabian authors; though others, from their silence on this subject, seemed to reject the fact. My opinion is, that they were burnt; for there was always too much of fanaticism in the Islam creed to permit any deviation from the commands of the caliph on subjects appertaining to their religion. Letters and firmans in the East were probably then, as now, read publicly by some scribe; and every one in the town made acquainted with their contents. Doubtless the Islam troops helped to carry away those valuable literary treasures, said to have consisted of seven hundred thousand volumes, and to pile them in the hummums, or baths, where they were six months consuming the sweat and the toil, the sleepless midnight studies, and the waking dreams

of the poet and the alchymist, the historian and the biographer, the traveller and the grammarian, of ages dated farther back than the foundations of the Pyramids—records, perhaps, contemporary with the captive songs of the Jews in bondage. The news of the fall of Egypt hastened the death of Heraclius, already a martyr to dropsy. He sank rapidly under accumulating misfortunes; and so died within seven weeks of that great event, leaving the sceptre in the hands of his son Constantine. Meanwhile, a famine pressed sore upon the land of Arabia: whereupon Egypt, that granary of the world even from the days of Jacob downwards, dispatched such a caravan laden with corn, that, according to Arabian writers, the first camel had reached Medina before the last had started from Egypt—a species of exaggeration wherein the Arabs revel down to the present day. Omar ordered a canal to be dug from the Nile to the Red Sea, to afford a more expeditious channel for the exportation of grain. This, which had been originally commenced by Trajan, was completed by Amru; who continued administering justice, and governing with that upright decision and discernment, which rendered him one of Omar's most efficient civil and military officers, in every acceptance of the term.

## CHAPTER X.

**Assassination of Omar—His last words—Succeeded by Othman Eben Affan—Pursuit of Yezdigard—Attack and capture of Ispahan—Gallant defence of Istakar—Capture of the city—Death of Yezdigard—Rapid progress of the Moslems—Administration of Othman—His unjust patronage—Capture of Alexandria by the Greeks—Retaken by Amru—Abdallah lays siege to Tripoli—Great battle, and defeat of the Greeks—Abdallah conquers Nubia.**

WE now arrive at the period when Omar, one of the wisest and most disinterested of the early caliphs, came to a violent end; having been stabbed while in the mosque at prayers, by a fanatical captive slave, named Feruz—a Parsee, or fire-worshipper. His reign was, beyond doubt, the golden age of Islamism; and during its existence more wealth had been poured into the treasures of the caliphate, and more fertile countries had become subjected to the Moslem yoke, than ever found a parallel in the annals of Islam conquest. Before dying he appointed a council of six persons to decide upon his succession; but he firmly objected to his own son being nominated. "*Omar's family,*" said he, "*has had enough of Omars, and needs no more;*" and before expiring, he wrote a letter full of wise advice, to be delivered after his demise to his successor. One of his last predictions was, what was afterwards, and still continues to be, amply verified:—"Indulge," said he,

*"in Persian luxuries, and your nerve and courage will depart from you; whereas the simple habits of your country, if persevered in, will infallibly gain you success and victory."* So died Omar, in the sixty-third year of his age, and in the eleventh of his caliphate; leaving behind him an unquestioned reputation as a wise and just man, a founder of cities and marts, a builder of mosques, and under whose reign the Muslims are said to have taken thirty-six thousand towns, castles, and strongholds. Othman Eben Affan was elected his successor. Persia had been left by Omar, tottering upon the verge of an entire overthrow, and the Muslim generals prosecuted their victories with unabated vigour. Yezdigard was a doomed man. *Omar had ordered that the fugitive king be pursued until driven from the face of the earth; and the Muslims were too devoted to the service of their late caliph to allow one iota of his commands to remain unexecuted: so, resolving to overrun the whole empire, they divided their army into two expeditions; the one of which marched westward, through ancient Assyria, over the Tigris, near Mossul, close by Nineveh, and thus completed the subjugation of all Mesopotamia, hoisting the standard upon the boundaries where the same flag had waved since the conquest of Syria; the other division marched south and east, pursuing step by step the unhappy fugitive monarch; who, after flying from Rei, wandered from province to province, ever on the alert to distance the approaching danger: one day he was at Ispahan, then at Persia. So the last of Khorus, a miserable effeminate and dispirited man, hovered like a troubled spirit about*

those very mountains where Cyrus had first appeared with a hardy band of warriors to found the empire now shaken by warfare; but a dark shadow was following the unhappy Yezdigard, casting its gloom in mockery over the splendid attire which the royal fugitive still retained, and daily nearing its victim. He halted at Istakar, where the thousand columns of Persepolis tell sadly of bygone splendour; and from hence he fled to Farsistan, thence to Korassan, and so to the city of Merou, in Bactriana. Here, for a while, he was permitted to rest himself—the spectre of decayed royalty, whose court was made up of some four thousand worthless followers, with his wives and concubines, and female slaves. Here the fugitive sovereign bethought him of the possibility of aid and succour coming from other and higher sources than from mortal man. So, according to his faith, he built a fire-temple to pacify his gods; but they, like those of the people whom Elijah mocked on the top of Mount Carmel, were evidently *asleep, or else gone a journey*. The fuel was consumed in vain, and the lamp burnt day and night. Valiant dispatches were written by Yezdigard, to stir up the governors of such places as had yet remained unconquered to courage and perseverance in defending their cities. Ispahan still remained under a sufficient garrison, and Yezdigard preached what he never could succeed in practising—courage and perseverance. Kadeshan, the governor of Ispahan, sallied forth as to encounter the Moslems; but in reality to betray his trust. At the first charge the Persians capitulated; and the Moslems became

masters of the city. From that day Ispahan has remained a desolate city; but, wherefore, not even oriental authors, with all their love for the marvellous, have ever attempted to say. Kadeshan was sent to Medina, probably to keep the renegade Satrap of Ahway company; but Hormuzan had previously fallen victim to the intrigues of Mahomet Eben Abu Bekir; who persuaded Abdallah, the son of Omar, that his father's death had been occasioned by conspiracy, in which Hormuzan bore a prominent part. Without a moment's consideration, Abdallah put the unhappy man to death; though the greatest intimacy had existed between the satrap and Omar during the latter years of the Caliph's reign, and Hormuzan was evidently innocent of the charge. Istakar resisted for some time the efforts of the assailants. Once the boast of Persia, it was now her last stronghold; and valiantly did the people fight to maintain their independence. Shah-Reg, the governor, with one hundred and twenty thousand troops, made stout resistance; but in the contest that ensued, the governor was slain, and Persepolis, once the mistress of the world, submitted to the Moslem yoke. The victorious troops marched through Khorassan, rapidly progressing towards the refuge of the unhappy Yezdigard, who, driven from the extreme boundaries of his dominions fled across the Oxus (ancient Gihon) and over the desert to Scythia; where he craved sustenance and protection from the horde of shepherds frequenting these parts. It is even said that he reached the borders of China, and besought the assistance of the celestial emperor. The great

khan of the Tartars assisted him with troops, which enabled him to recross the Oxus, where he was joined by the troops of Bactria. Here he eventually made a stand against his unrelenting enemies, but all was of no avail. Treachery, or some other motive, made the Tartar chief retire with his troops into Turkistan; and his own people, wearied out by the calamities which seemed to them so desperately interwoven with Yezdigard's fate, determined to betray their fugitive monarch and his treasures, as the price of their own security, into the hands of the Moslems. Somehow or other this scheme was revealed to the intended victim; and he fled by night from that horde of worthless men. Next morning he was not more than eight miles distant from the city, and, fearing discovery by daylight, he besought the protection and hospitality of a miller, offering him a costly ring and bracelet to ferry him across the stream. But the miller had no notion of jewels, and insisted upon being paid in current money for this service. Thus debating, the precious hour of escape was lost for ever. His pursuers came upon him unawares—the royal fugitive was cut down with their scimitars—his costly heavy garments, which had so encumbered him in his flight, became their booty. Thus fell the last king of Persia; Yezdigard having been nine years a king and ten a wanderer. His death, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, completed the conquest of the whole of the Persian empire; so that, in the space of thirty years, that wretched little territory, in an arid and inhospitable soil, where the prophet had first preached his new faith, had

gone on rapidly subjugating all things to its power, and shifting its boundaries wheresoever his standards waved—from the confines of Beloochistan, Cabul, and Tartary, on the one side—through Irak, all Syria, and Palestine, to the countries bordering on the Arabian Sea; while even at that early period, if conquest had not extended so far, the immense number of traders annually plying to and fro between the countries of Islam and the continent of Hindostan had among them zealous missionaries of the newly-propounded faith, setting forth to heathen nations, as proofs of its infallibility, the astounding fact that the soldiers of Islam carried with them victory whithersoever they went; even as a magical spell which no power had been found able to break; while fair cities were springing up on the borders of the Red Sea and of the Persian Gulf, and while the palms were now overtopped by lofty minarets, from whose balconies sounded the startling muezzin call:—*There is no God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet!* Othman, the successor of Omar, had been a bosom friend of the prophet, having been in both Hegiras, the flight out of Abyssinia, and that to Medina: of him Mahomet said, that he was to be his associate in Paradise. Such an honourable designation secured for him the affections of the disciples of the prophet; and Othman commenced his career as caliph under the most favourable auspices. Yet, at the very onset, his close and rigorous investigation was necessary into the outrage committed by Abdallah upon the unoffending Satrap of Ahway and his fellow-victims. In strict accordance with the law, blood



for blood was required ; but, while unwilling to add another execution to the murders already committed, and wishing to be accounted strictly just, he was relieved from this difficulty by the suggestion of a friend—that as these acts had taken place during an interregnum, he was not obliged to take cognizance of the offence committed by the late caliph's son. Even at that early period the quibbles of the law were fully in play—the blood of the innocent was unavenged, and the murderer escaped unpunished. Othman was seventy years of age when he entered upon the duties of the caliphate. He had married two of the prophet's daughters ; and though by no means so self-denying as his amiable predecessor, he was open-handed and a friend to the poor—two Oriental virtues held much in esteem by the hospitable Arabians. Besides this, he had rendered to the faith the state and the people essential service : the first, by providing for the prophet's widows, purchasing grounds round about the mosque, at Medina, and building houses for them : the second, by contributing six hundred and fifty camels and fifty horses for the invading army of Tabuc : the third, in gratuitously supplying the poor of Medina with food, when a famine pressed sorely upon the land.

In one thing Othman laid himself open to reproach—this was, the unjust patronage he exercised in providing for his own relatives. Foremost amongst these obnoxious appointments was the nomination of his foster-brother, Abdallah-Eben-Saad, to the supreme command in Egypt ; thus displacing its excellent governor and brave general, Amru. It is

reported of Abdallah, that having been employed as amanuensis by the prophet, when concocting the Koran, Abdallah outraged all propriety, and scandalized the implicit faith entertained by his employer, by interpolating the revelations of the prophet with absurd compositions of his own; which rendered the written Koran more like to an idle song than to a series of wise proverbs maxims and revelations. For this offence Mahomet ultimately pardoned him, since which time he had become a perfect zealot. Being a bold and practised horseman, the wild hordes of the desert were apt soldiers to serve under his command; but it was absurd to place under his command a country and people, far advanced in the civilization of those times, and who required more prudence than valour to govern them peaceably and hold them in due subjection. Amru possessed every qualification for a governor; and the Egyptians revered and admired him accordingly. His removal was therefore most injudicious, and produced a disposition to revolt amongst the people. This Othman soon discovered to his cost; for Constantine, who had so ignominiously fled from Cæsarea, and who now ruled at Constantinople, taking advantage of the embroiled state of affairs at Alexandria, dispatched a fleet and army, under the Prefect Manuel, for the recapture of that city—a feat which, partly from the treachery of the Alexandrian Greeks, he accomplished without much bloodshed. This disaster was the signal for the reinstatement of Amru; who, accompanied by Mokawkas and many other Copts (all deadly enemies of the Greeks), in addition to a considerable Islam force, marched upon

Alexandria, but met with an obstinate defence. Amru, vexed to think that he was thus compelled to besiege, for a third time, a city that had already twice cost him much toil and bloodshed, swore in the heat of the moment that if he mastered it again, he would raze its defences to the ground. And well he kept his word ; utterly demolishing the walls and fortifications, though he spared the people, checking the fury of the enraged Islams who would fain have granted no quarter. Manuel fled by sea to Constantinople, accompanied by such of his troops as could escape. It might have been imagined that experience had taught Othman more wisdom in the nomination of his subordinate chiefs ; yet no sooner was tranquillity restored in Egypt, than Amru was recalled, and the caliph's kinsman reinstated. Abdallah, however, was now determined to make all the amends in his power for the shame and loss he had brought upon the Islam nation by the surrender of Alexandria to the insurgents ; and he determined upon fresh enterprises in Northern Africa, which might vindicate his honour. He accordingly set out, at the head of 40,000 Arabs ; and, traversing the desert of Lybia, with camels provided from Arabia and well accustomed to the like dreary wastes, after an arduous march encamped before the walls of Tripoli, the most important city on the coast of Barbary. Here the invaders surprised and dispersed with slaughter some reinforcements, which were on their way to strengthen the garrison of Tripoli. Upwards of 100,000 men, chiefly undisciplined tribes of Barbary, constituted the army of defence, under Gregorius the Roman prefect. This

latter was accompanied by his beautiful daughter; a perfect Amazon, who had early been instructed in the use of arms, and who never for a minute left her father's side, even in the deadliest affrays. Both armies met, and the Moslem commander proposed the usual terms, which were indignantly rejected. The battle-field was before the walls of Tripoli. Both generals fought with desperate valour—Abdallah, because his reputation was at stake—Gregorius, because the fate of the province was now at issue. The fight continued through several days; as the heat was so excessive, that it was only during the cooler hours of the morning either force could bear exposure to the sun. A reward of 100,000 pieces of gold and the hand of the fair Amazonian, was offered to that soldier who should fetch Abdallah's head into Gregorius' camp. This becoming known to the Moslems, they insisted upon their commander's keeping aloof from the battle; but his courage had acted as an incentive to the Arabs; and his absence was likely to have occasioned disastrous consequences, had not Zobeir, of the tribe of Koreish, arrived most opportunely with a small reinforcement. Seeking for Abdallah, he was indignant to find this commander seated idly in his tent, while his troops were in a fair way of being exterminated. On learning the real merits of the case, Zobeir insisted that Abdallah should retaliate upon Gregorius, by offering a similar reward for the prefect's head, and his daughter's hand to the victor. This was accordingly proclaimed, and at the same time a stratagem was resorted to, which took the enemy quite off their guard, and gained for the Is-

lams an easy conquest. The two forces had, as usual, encountered each other in the morning, and both were retiring, overcome by heat and fatigue, to their respective tents; when Abdallah and Zobeir, who had been in ambush with a reserve force, fell upon the wearied Greeks. Zobeir slew the prefect, and the fair Amazon was taken captive; but Zobeir would accept of neither gold nor maiden, declaring that he fought not for profit but for his faith. This act, and his modesty when, in recounting before the caliph the exploits of others, he studiously abstained from mentioning his own share in the affray, gained for him much public applause, and caused his name to be ranked next to that of Khaled and Amru by the Moslems. The Grecian army was dispersed, and the town of Safetula sacked; but Abdallah, finding his forces unequal for retaining possession of the newly-won provinces, returned with his victorious troops into Egypt, carrying with him much booty and a great number of slaves. Abdallah eventually subjugated the Christian king of Nubia; binding him to a most humiliating treaty, whereby he was compelled to furnish the Moslem governor of Egypt annually with a certain number of slaves, in lieu of paying tribute.

## CHAPTER XI.

Maritime successes of the Moslems, and capture of Cyprus—  
Battle of the Masts—Malta and Crete taken—Surrender of  
Rhodes—Destruction of the Colossus of Rhodes—Further  
successes of the Moslems—Civil dissensions—Loss of Ma-  
homet's ring—Decline of Othman's popularity—Treachery  
of Merwan, and murder of Othman—Succeeded by Ali—  
Intrigues of Moawyah and Ayesha—Insurrection in Syria—  
Bassorah taken by the insurgents—Defeat of Ayesha—En-  
gagement between Ali and Moawyah.

THE Moslems, whose conquests and exploits had heretofore been confined to land fights, now became equally successful in maritime enterprise. Amongst the distinguished generals of Othman's caliphate was Moawyah, the son of Abu Sofian, chief of the tribe of Koreish, and head of the family of Ommiah. In Omar's reign he had been appointed governor of Syria, and he still retained this post. In the prime of life, and full of ambition and courage, with a great deal of natural sagacity and intelligence, this man determined to spread the fame of the Islams over the Mediterranean. In the twenty-fifth year of the Hegira, A. D. 647, with the new caliph's sanction, Moawyah embarked; launching the fleet he had constructed upon the Phœnician sea, by which name the Eastern Mediterranean was then designated. The first place attacked was Cyprus, then subject to the

Emperor of Constantinople. It is probable that the fleet sailed from Tyre to Limersole; where the Moslems, upon landing, soon vanquished the feeble Christians' garrison, and the island stipulated to pay an annual tribute to the caliph. The fleet next anchored off Aradees; and the troops, having landed, laid siege to the town, employing on this occasion the battering-rams then in use. Moawyah was, however, repulsed with considerable loss; but soon after returning with strong reinforcements, he succeeded in capturing the citadel, when he razed the place to the ground with fire and expelled the inhabitants. After this the Moslem ships encountered the emperor's fleet off Cyprus; and a severe naval engagement ensued, recorded in Arab history as the Battle of the Masts, from the amazing number of masts that were entangled together during the conflict. The two fleets entered into action with the characteristic devotion of those days, the emperor's sailors elevating the cross, and chanting hymns—the Islams shouting their wonted war-cry, "Allah Ak-bar!" and quoting verses from the Koran.—The struggle for the mastery was severe; but even on this new element the Islams' arms triumphed; and the emperor himself only escaped, after the dispersion of his fleet, owing to the nautical superiority of the imperial sailors. This victory inspired the Arabs with additional courage. Each man felt persuaded that, whether on water or by land, their cause must succeed, and that supernatural power crowned them with victory. Moawyah was now an admiral, as well as a general; and he swept the Mediterranean uninterruptedly as far west as Malta; and that island,

whose hospitable natives had received the great Christian Apostle St. Paul, now bent to the followers of an impostor's doctrine. Malta and Crete were captured by the Moslem armament; then came a sanguinary battle near Castle Rhosso, where, after much loss on both sides, the Christian and Islam ships were separated by a gale of wind; and both sides claimed the victory. Then followed the capture of Rhodes; and Moawyah demolished one of the most wondrous works of human genius, the celebrated Colossus of Rhodes, under whose outstretched legs vessels are reputed to have sailed to and fro with facility. Breaking this statue to pieces, its brazen fragments were laden for Alexandria; where a Jewish merchant—then, as now, the most speculative and the wealthiest traders in the East—purchased this brass for the value, by weight, carried by nine hundred strong camels. Moawyah continued his naval conquests; ravaging the coast of Asia Minor, making a descent in the gulf of Adolia, and eventually carrying his fleet to within sight of Constantinople. The admiral now deemed it prudent to return to port; for, in addition to the season being already far advanced, he had other duties to attend to in the province over which he was governor; so the fleet anchored at Tyre, and Moawyah reassumed the reins of government amidst the applause of the people; for, in addition to the fame he had acquired by his late naval exploits, he had brought back with him yet more substantial proofs of his success—immense treasures, and numerous slaves, together with the annual tribute to which the vanquished upon land and sea had been sub-



jected. All these rendered him a most popular governor; and, as he scattered honours and gifts with a liberal hand, he soon earned for himself the love and attachment of people of all classes: so he went on, improving every opportunity to strengthen his position in the affections of those around him, accumulating wealth upon wealth, and holding in view the ultimate accomplishment of the day-dream of his ambition: all which, as will eventually be seen, came duly to pass. And now the clouds of civil discord began for the first time to darken the bright sky of the caliphate; people got tired of acquisitions; and jealousies began to spring up between the families descended from the various branches of Mahomet's tribe and household. Among the malcontents, the most prominent was Ayesha, during his life-time the favourite wife of the prophet, and the daughter of the caliph Abu Bekir. This woman for some time disturbed the caliphate with her intrigues: she would hesitate at no sacrifice to promote her own purposes, and strengthen the authority of her family. Othman had the misfortune to lose a silver ring, which had served as the signet of office to his predecessors, and which had been worn by the prophet himself, bearing upon it the inscription, "Mahomet, the Apostle of God." This of course was construed by a superstitious people into an unlucky omen; all search for its recovery was vain. About this time many spurious copies of the Koran, varying materially in their texts from the original book, had been circulated. Othman determined to suppress these; and accordingly decreed, that all those books

in Mecca, Yemen, Bahrein, Bassorah, Syria, Cufa, and Medina, which did not strictly accord with the edition in possession of Hafzo, Mahomet's widow (seven copies of which had been made, one for each of the above-named places), should be burnt. This order was strictly executed; and from that day up to the present date, the version has remained unchanged. This act gained for Othman the appellation of the *Gatherer of the Koran*; and in addition to this, he proved himself to be a devout and sincere Islam, by beautifying and enriching the mosque at Medina, and building a wall round the Caaba. Yet the aged caliph was exposed to intrigue and trouble. The most serious charges brought against him were, first, that of presumption in mounting to the uppermost step of the pulpit where Mahomet himself stood and preached; whilst both Abu Bekir and Omar, by regular gradation, had descended a step lower; and secondly, for placing inefficient men, his relatives, in posts of importance, whereby the caliphate was involved in much unnecessary expenditure. This latter charge was but too well established. But what distressed the aged Othman most was, was the accusation brought against him of lavishing his monies in unwarrantable donations to worthless favourites. This he firmly resisted; declaring that all monies in the treasury were to be distributed at the option of the caliph as successor to the prophet. One old man venturing to gainsay this assertion, some of the caliph's kindred handled him so roughly that he fainted away. This outrage happened to be committed upon the person of one who had early been an

especial favourite of Mahomet—so much so, that in speaking of him the prophet had declared that *he was filled with faith from the crown of his head down to the soles of his feet*. Such an assertion from such an authority had of course great weight with the Moslem populace ; and the result was, that the aged caliph became more unpopular than ever. The ring-leader of this faction was Eben Caba, a renegade Jew, who—from what motives we are not informed—undertook to travel through Yemen, Hidschaf, Bas-sorah, Cufa, and Egypt, to stir up the people of those countries to revolt ; declaring that Othman was a usurper ; and actually succeeded in making all these countries send deputations to investigate the caliph's conduct. One hundred and fifty came from Bas-sorah, two hundred from Cufa, six hundred from Egypt, under the brother of Ayesha, besides several zealots of the Korezite sect. Othman was terrified by their appearance, and implored Ali to assist him ; but the people could only be pacified by the caliph's publicly acknowledging his errors from the pulpit. Accordingly, the old man, with his loose flowing white beard, half choked by tears and sobs, openly asked the Almighty to pardon him, and to grant him true penitence for his misdemeanors. His audience were overcome by the sight, and all commiserated the unhappy caliph, save his well-paid and intriguing secretary, who, working upon his master's weaker points, gained his consent to address the multitude. This he did with so much rancour that the rage of the populace knew no bounds ; and Ali, who had theretofore been the peaceful mediator, declared he would never again inter-

ferre ; in this intention he however wavered, so by good words and douceurs the insurgents were quieted ; and, to pacify the Egyptians who complained heavily of Abdallah, that functionary was dismissed, and replaced at the request of the Egyptian deputation by Mahomet, the mischievous brother of Ayesha. Scarcely had the newly-appointed governor left for his official seat, when the treacherous secretary, Merwan, dispatched a letter addressed to Abdallah, and purporting to come from the caliph, which the messenger was instructed to suffer to fall into the hands of Mahomet. The dispatch directed Abdallah to make away with the new governor immediately on his arrival, and to imprison his retinue. This presumed treachery so provoked and enraged the Egyptians that they instantly returned to Medina. In vain did the old caliph deny the charge, protesting upon the Koran that the letter was a forgery, and that he knew not by whom it was forged. Suspicion then rested on the secretary ; but the old caliph was too haughty to yield to the clamorous demands of the populace to give up this traitor Merwan. Othman was recommended to fly in a pilgrim's garb : but this he refused to do ; and, though his house was stoutly defended by Hassan Abdallah and Mahomet, the sons of Ali, Zobeir, and Telha, the rage of the multitude was irrepressible ; and Mahomet, the brother of Ayesha, put a term to the ill-fated old man's existence by thrusting a javelin through his heart. His wife, Nailé, nearly fell a victim to the rage of the insurgents, who plundered the house and two rooms of the public treasury. This event occurred

in the thirty-third year of the Hegira, A.D. 655 ; so that within the space of thirteen years, two of the three first caliphs that succeeded to Mahomet had fallen victims to an assassin. Even after death poor Othman was left three days to lie, just as he fell ; and then he was accorded the sepulture of a dog—unwashed, uncared, unprayed for. There were four candidates for the vacant caliphate ; first, Ali, the son-in-law and cousin of Mahomet ; who was courageous, hospitable, munificent, and unswerving in truth. Second on the list came Zobeir, the modest warrior of Tripoli ; who as he advanced in years seems altogether to have laid his modesty aside. Then Telha, who had elected Othman, and was a friend of Ayesha's. Last came the general and admiral Moawyah, whose exploits by land and by sea we have briefly recorded. After much contestation the choice fell upon Ali ; who with some reluctance accepted the perilous office ; for he saw that he had almost insuperable difficulties in the jealousies of the various parties contending for the supreme honour, and he well knew that in Ayesha he had a perfect fiend to deal with. Telha and Zobeir, two of the disappointed candidates, joined this woman at Mecca ; whilst Moawyah left no stone unturned in Syria to secure for himself the independent government of that opulent country. One of his first precautions was to ingratiate himself with Amru, the late discerning and skilful governor of Egypt ; who, disgusted at Othman's treatment, had retired into Syria, and was dwelling in the romantic seclusion of a village not far from Damascus. Ali dismissed Othman's

governors ; and nominated as their successors men whom he deemed best adapted for such responsible posts ; but these governors, with the exception of the one appointed to Arabia Felix, were destined to disappointment ; and even this man found on his arrival, that, though his predecessor handed over the reins of government without dispute, he had made off for Meccā, taking with him the public treasury, which he handed over to Ayesha and her colleagues. When Othman-Eben-Hanif arrived at Bassorah, and produced his appointment, the people were so rebelliously disposed that he was glad to escape with his life. Such also was the case with the new governors of Cufa and Egypt ; and Sahel-Eben-Hanif, who had been nominated to Syria, was met at Tabuc by a troop of cavalry who disputed his passage. Sahel informed them that he had been deputed by the caliph to the command of those provinces : but they, unsheathing their swords, told him that they had already an able governor in Moawyah, and that there was no room there for the sole of his foot. Ali, on learning these vexatious tidings, wrote to Moawyah claiming his allegiance ; but the only answer he received was a blank letter ; and his messenger informed him that sixty thousand men were up in arms in Syria ; so the caliph made immediate preparations to suppress this rebellion. The Moslems were divided into two parties, those for and those against the caliph, the latter, headed by Ayesha and her colleagues. These, leaving Moawyah to wrench Syria from the caliph's power, marched with a powerful army against Bassorah. On their arrival they were surprised to find the gates closed against

them. Vainly did Ayesha, advancing close to the city gates, harangue those on the walls: she was old and crabbed; and her sharp features, in addition to her shrill and piercing voice—for she spoke rapidly and in a mighty passion—excited the merriment of her auditors, and the more they laughed the shriller her accents grew. There were however two parties within the city walls; and whilst one man reproached her, saying that it was more shameful, and more abominable than was the murder of Othman, that she should ride forth on a camel barefaced to foment quarrels between the faithful, another scoffed at her colleagues for bringing their old mother with them instead of their young and handsome wives. By this time many of the citizens of Bassorah had assembled outside the city walls; and the tumult between the scoffers and the scoffed reached to such a pitch that swords were unsheathed and a regular skirmish ensued. After this they separated; but Telha and Zobeir entered the city one dark tempestuous night, and after a little resistance succeeded in subduing the place. The unhappy governor, who was captured in a mosque, was, by order of Ayesha, first bastinadoed, then imprisoned; and when the soles of his feet were healed they plucked his beard and eyebrows hair by hair, and in this state set him at liberty. Meanwhile Ali had mustered a considerable force, and was rapidly following in the footsteps of the rebels; receiving reinforcements on the road, he encamped before Bassorah, much to the dismay of Ayesha and her associates, who began to treat for conciliation; but at length, as no understanding could be arrived

at, the Islam forces encountered each other, and a deadly battle ensued, Ayesha riding up and down the while on her favourite camel and exciting her troops to carnage. Telha was slain by an arrow; Zobeir, with a guilty conscience, withdrew from the field; but was overtaken by an Arab, who treacherously slew him whilst at prayer. The camel of Ayesha was hamstrung, and sank with her to the ground. Ali behaved nobly to her; sending his own sons, Hassan and Hosein, to escort her a day's journey towards Medina; where, on arriving, she was confined to her own house and not permitted to meddle with politics. Ali, having received much assistance in this campaign from the inhabitants of Cufa, made that city the seat of his caliphate, in token of his approval of their conduct.

Quiet was now restored in Egypt, Arabia, and Persia; only Syria remaining to be subjugated. Finding all conciliatory endeavours of no avail, Ali marched against Moawyah at the head of ninety thousand men. The two armies encountered each other on the 18th of June, A.D. 657, the first day of the thirty-fifth year of the Hegira. During the first month of the year the Islams would not fight; so it was passed in fruitless negotiations. Moawyah had eighty thousand troops with Amru in his ranks; and Ali had several brave veteran generals, who had fought under Mahomet, and were surnamed Shaha-bah (companions of the prophet). The contest between the two armies was terrible. Ali, disheartened at the great sacrifice of brave soldiers, challenged Moawyah to single combat; a call which that general did not see fit to accept, for Ali had for



his prowess been long named "The Lion;" and Amru, hinting at the discredit of refusing such a challenge, was reminded by Moawyah that, if he (Moawyah) was slain by Ali, Amru would become governor of Syria, which was possibly the reason that he was so zealous for Moawyah's honour. This hint had its effect; and so the conflict continued more violent than ever—thousands of brave men, who had once fought side by side in the same cause, falling by each other's hand.

## CHAPTER XII.

**Stratagem of Amru and Moawyah—Revolt of the Korezites—Death of Mahomet, Ayesha's brother—Plot to assassinate Ali, Moawyah, and Amru—Death of Ali—His character—Succeeded by Hassan—He marches against Moawyah—Abdicates, and is succeeded by Moawyah—Zahid, governor of Bassorah—His death—Amru appointed governor of Egypt—His death—Expedition to attack Constantinople—Obstinate defence of the Greeks—Murder of Hassan—Military successes in Africa—Recall and reinstatement of Akbar—Death of Ayesha, and of the caliph Moawyah.**

THE victory was decidedly in favour of Ali's troops, and the just cause was about to be triumphant; when Amru and Moawyah resorted to artifice, and used the cloak of religious faith to work out their own ends. Alashter, a general in Ali's camp, was carrying everything before him; wherever he appeared victory was sure to follow. Suddenly the forces under the rebel governor elevated the Koran on the points of their lances, and demanded loudly that that book alone should decide the question of right. In this Ali, though aware of the advantage which he commanded, was compelled by the superstition of his troops to acquiesce. Umpires were appointed to decide the question; and Ali retraced his steps to Cufa, whilst Moawyah returned to Damascus; the former leaving Abu Musa, the latter Amru, to act in

the matter. Some months elapsed before the question was brought to an issue in the presence of both armies. Amru, meanwhile, had persuaded Abu Musa to agree with him in setting aside the claims of both candidates to the caliphate, and allowing the Islams to elect a third ; but at the same time, with apparent deference, persuading him to be the first to ascend the tribunal, and announce publicly his decision that both Ali and Moawyah should be deposed. No sooner had he descended than Amru took his place, and instantly proclaimed Moawyah as the newly-chosen caliph. The oath that bound both armies prevented them from resorting to arms again : but both sides withdrew from the field, with secret but fierce hatred towards each other. Soon after this, a revolt instigated by the Korezites or Seceders, broke out in the camp of Ali ; and twenty-five thousand men, under Abdallah Eben Waheb, assembled at Narhawan, near Baghdad. These were subdued by Ali, many of them returning penitent to his camp ; and of the four thousand fanatics that adhered to Abdallah, fighting with furious zeal to the last, only nine escaped alive. Meanwhile Moawyah and Amru were plotting the destruction of Egypt ; the former, forging a letter, as from Saad the governor, purporting to be addressed to Moawyah, and proffering to introduce the Syrian troops into Egypt ; this letter was purposely suffered to fall into Ali's hands ; and the caliph, fearing a plot, immediately removed Saad from his post, and appointed Ayesha's brother, Mahomet, to the command. This man by his haughty and unwise conduct soon set all Egypt in a blaze ; and Ali,

hastening to remedy the evil, sent Malec Shuter, a prudent Islam, to displace Mahomet; but the unhappy man was poisoned on the way, at the instigation of Moawyah, by a peasant, at whose house Malec lodged. So Amru, taking advantage of all these disturbances, hastened with a chosen body of men, to the scenes of his former exploits, quickly subdued the caliph's troops, and assumed the reins of government as Moawyah's lieutenant. As for Mahomet, the murderer of Othman, he was killed by some of the late caliph's partisans; and then, to carry their revenge and insult to the highest possible pitch, they enclosed the body of the brother of Ayesha in the carcass of an ass, and reduced both to cinders. The troubles of the Caliph Ali were now rapidly accumulating: but perhaps the most severe blow dealt upon him was the unnatural conduct of his own brother, Okail, who abandoned him on the decay of his fortunes, and joined the standard of Moawyah. Sixty thousand men still swore to live and die for the caliph, and with these he prepared to march upon Syria. About this time, three men of the sect of Seceders, who had lost many friends and connexions in the battle fought by the Korezites under Abdallah, near Baghdad, met in the mosque of Mecca; and there they bound themselves by a solemn vow, to avenge their losses and restore peace amongst the Islams by the assassination of Ali, Moawyah, and Amru, to whom they attributed all the evils that had resulted from civil discord amongst the Moslems. Their purpose was to be effected with poisoned weapons, in a given place, at a given hour, on the seventeenth day of the Ramadan, when all

devout Moslems would be sure to be at prayers. For this purpose Barak Eben Abdallah went to Damascus, Amru Eben Asi to Egypt, and Abdahrahman, the third assassin, to Cufa. Each mixed with the retinue of his respective victim. Barak, at the appointed hour, stabbed Moawyah, in the mosque, at Damascus; but the usurper, by the immediate use of desperate remedies, recovered; and Barak, being mutilated of hands and feet, was eventually killed by a partisan of Moawyah. Amru Eben Asi entered the mosque in Egypt; but, mistaking the officiating iman for the lieutenant of Moawyah, killed him on the spot; and himself was seized and immediately executed. Abdahrahman, having been joined by two others of his own sect, effected his end; slaying the Caliph Ali just as he was entering the mosque. So, after a most turbulent and unhappy caliphate, Ali died of his wound, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the fifth of his reign, A.D. 660, and the thirty-eighth year of the Hegira; making the third caliph slain within twenty years by the hand of an assassin. Ali was an upright and honourable man, a patron of literature and the fine arts, and himself a poet. He certainly merited better treatment at the hands of his own subjects, having been a just judge, and a kind and paternal governor; oftener forgiving than punishing the misdeeds of those who were so frequently conspiring against his life and interests. His lineal descendants are scheriffs and emirs; permitted to wear their turbans and hair in a peculiar fashion, differing from the usages of all other Moslems. Ali left two sons, Hassan and Hosein, an elder boy having died

while quite a child. Hassan was in his thirty-fifth year when he succeeded his father, as the fifth caliph of the Moslems. The people chose Hassan without opposition, owing to his having been a favourite of his grandfather, the prophet ; whom also he is said to have resembled in features. Moreover, he was a benevolent, upright, and devout man ; but he grievously lacked the energy so indispensable for a ruler in troubled times. The new caliph would willingly have disbanded the army ready to march upon Syria ; for he was no lover of warfare, and would rather have forfeited the Syrian provinces than mixed in battle. His brother Hosein, however, was a warrior ; and so were many of the veteran generals who had sworn allegiance to his father, and whose plans he was therefore compelled to follow up. He accordingly marched upon Syria ; sending forward 12,000 light troops, under Kais, to check the progress of Moawyah, who was advancing to meet Hassan's army. Kais succeeded in repelling the Syrians ; and secured a position, where he might await the arrival of the main body of the army, which, however, never reached its destination. The troops of Hassan were chiefly from Irak, and not inclined to enter upon the campaign : moreover, they knew him to be an inefficient commander. A revolt broke out amongst the soldiery, in which Hassan was wounded. This occurred at Modayn, and the caliph was compelled to seek refuge with the governor in the citadel. He ultimately sent proposals to Moawyah, offering to abdicate in his favour, under certain stipulations, to which Moawyah readily agreed. So, to the great indignation of Hosein,

Hassan abdicated ; and eventually the two brothers settled in Medina, where Moawyah supplied them liberally with funds. This act doubtless saved a good deal of bloodshed ; and, in the thirty-ninth year of the Hegira, the sixth caliph, Moawyah the First, began to reign. His first act was to almost exterminate the sect of Seceders ; a people even more dangerous than the modern Janissaries, and against whom the Caliph Moawyah had deep hatred, owing to the stab he had received in Damascus. With Moawyah commenced the dynasty of the house of Ommiah, called the "Ommiades." This caliph is said to have patronized literature ; and during his reign many of the Greek sciences were first introduced into Arabia. The writers of that country dwell lengthily on the history of a natural brother of Moawyah, whose extraordinary talents and energies promoted him to the highest posts under the caliphate. Zahid Eben Abihi, or the son of nobody—so was the caliph's brother called—was at an early age turned loose upon the world. His mother, having been a Greek slave, had not the means of supporting or educating him ; but the natural eloquence of the boy attracted Amru, who took him under his care, and eventually got him appointed *cadi*. It was while discharging the functions of this office that he rendered signal service to Mogeirah Eben Saad, a man of excellent character, and who ultimately rose to be a counsellor of the Caliph Ali. Mogeirah had been slandered by false witnesses before the *cadi* ; but Zahid detected the slanderers, and had them well bastinadoed. In gratitude for this, Mogeirah, when he came into

power, used his influence in getting Zahid appointed Ali's lieutenant in Persia—an onerous post which he filled with great reputation. Zahid was still in Persia when Moawyah obtained the caliphate; but he at first refused to acknowledge the presumed usurper. Mogeirah, however, now well stricken in years, was recalled home from Persia. Zahid received him with open arms, and publicly declared their consanguinity. Zahid was sent as governor to Bassorah, which place he found a perfect den of thieves; so much so, that no man dared stir out of doors after dusk, and murders and robberies were of nightly occurrence. Zahid established a species of curfew system; making proclamation that all persons caught in the streets after the *Mograbiah*, or evening call to prayer, should be put to death. Two hundred persons were slain by the patrol the first night; only five on the second; neither were there afterwards any tumults or robberies. On learning this, Moawyah sent him to enforce the same reforms in Korassan and other provinces; and it is said the more he had to do, the better was the work done; till at length his very name was the terror of all evil-doers. Having whole provinces under his sway, he yet demanded further service; asking to govern Arabia Petrea, on the plea that his left hand sufficed him for the discharge of all the work in his provinces. But in the midst of his useful career, he was suddenly cut off by the plague, dying in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the forty-third year of the Hegira, A.D. 665. His son Obeidallah succeeded him, and, on his way to Korassan, defeated a large Turkish force. Moawyah



succeeded in re-establishing peace in his dominions. One of his earliest appointments was the reinstatement of Amru in the government of Egypt; allotting him, in grateful recognition of his services, the whole revenue of that wealthy country for his lifetime; but Amru was advanced in years, and only enjoyed his preferment for a short time, dying two years before Zahid, in the forty-first year of the Hegira, A.D. 663. By his death Islam lost a valiant general and a wise statesman. Moawyah now turned his thoughts to foreign conquest; hoping to leave an illustrious name, together with the royal succession, to his son Yezid. Accordingly he sent him, at the head of a powerful force, to subdue that famous capital, which was destined in later years to become, as it now remains, the head-quarters of Islamism and the seat of the Moslem rulers. The general of the forces was Sophian, a veteran, who, with many others of his companions in arms, had seen much hard service. The second son of Ali, Hosein, also accompanied this expedition, as did all the flower of Moslem chivalry. Great preparations were afoot, and the troops were dispatched both by land and sea to attack Constantinople. The Greek power was on the decline; their emperor, a grandson of Heraclius, indolent and unfitted for his high office; and the Moslems entertained sanguine hopes of success. Their fleet passed the Dardanelles, and the army landed within seven miles of Constantinople. The besieged had fortified the place, and repulsed the assault with the Greek fire—a new and terrible agent of destruction to the Moslems, who, after ravaging the neighbouring coasts, wintered about eight

miles from Constantinople, at the island of Cyzicus. Through six long years they strove, but in vain : countless lives were lost, ships wrecked, and vast sums of money expended. Amongst the warriors who fell under the walls of Constantinople was Abu Ayub, who had sheltered the prophet in his flight to Medina, and subsequently fought by his side at Beder and Ohad. This old warrior's grave, or its supposed site, has since been consecrated by the Moslems ; who have reared over it a mausoleum, and also a mosque, wherein, to the present day, the Grand Seignior has been invested with the belt and sword of the sultanhip. Long practice, and the necessary energy, revived in the Greeks a few sparks of that military ardour which had for years been slumbering. They even sallied forth and attacked the Moslems ; punishing them so severely, that Moawyah, now an old man, was glad to obtain a truce for thirty years, paying the emperor annually three thousand pieces of gold, fifty slaves, and fifty Arabian horses. Yezid is accused of having instigated the murder of the mild and virtuous Hassan, who had abdicated in his father's favour, but who had stipulated to resume the caliphate after Moawyah's death. This act, which secured his own succession, was perpetrated in the year forty-seven of the Hegira, A.D. 669. Hosein implored his dying brother to reveal to him the man on whom his suspicions rested ; but Hassan refused to name the poisoner, saying, that "*this world was only a long night, from which both murderer and murdered would awake, to meet each other in the broad daylight of eternity, and render account in the presence of the Most High.*" So died this amiable man, in

the forty-seventh year of his age, leaving fifteen sons and five daughters. One of his many wives was a daughter of that last unhappy Persian monarch, Yezdigard, whom the Moslems had hunted like bloodhounds to the death. Moawyah sent Achbar Eben Nafi el Fahri, a competent general, to follow up the conquests so triumphantly commenced in Africa by Abdallah Eben Saad. This man proceeded from Damascus with 10,000 horse, making good speed towards Africa; and, his force rapidly augmenting by the accession of barbarian troops, he retook the city of Cyrene; but during the siege many of its magnificent edifices were destroyed. Continuing westward, he traversed desolate wilds and jungles, and passed through places infested with lions, tigers, and serpents, until he beheld the domains of ancient Carthage, the present Tunisian provinces. Here he founded a stronghold—a species of vast caravanserai, where stores might be accumulated, and whose thick and lofty walls might prove a safeguard in case of defeat. This place eventually gave origin to the city called Carwahn, or Kairwan—literally signifying a lodgement for travellers and beasts. Whilst Achbar was pushing his conquests in Africa, an Ansarii, one Muhegir Eben Omru Dinah, chief of one of the fierce tribes inhabiting, even to this hour, the Latachia range of mountains, had been nominated to the supreme command in Egypt. This man, envious of Achbar's rapidly-increasing fame, endeavoured by calumniating him to the caliph to effect his recall. This scheme was for a time successful. Achbar, being recalled, sped to Damascus, and presented himself

to the caliph. "*I have,*" said he, "*been degraded from my post, and brought here, like a culprit, for extending the arms, the fame, and the faith of Islam over wildernesses and dense forests, where only wild beasts and barbarians dwelt—where the heat scorches even the sole of the foot of the mounted horseman. If such be the reward due to my service, I submit to your decision.*" Moawyah, in reply, told the warrior that he was already in possession of the real facts of the case, and begged Achbar to return to his command. But some time elapsed before Achbar did return, and of his exploits and victories we shall treat in a subsequent chapter. Meanwhile Ayesha, who had caused so much discord and bloodshed, had, in the fifty-sixth year of the Hegira, numbered her years upon earth. One of her last acts of vengeance was the refusing sepulture to the body of Hassan; who had expressed a wish in his testament to be buried by the side of his grandsire, Mahomet—insisting that the mansion was hers, and carrying her malice even beyond the grave, so that Hassan was interred in the ordinary burial-ground. The sand of Moawyah's life was now rapidly running out. He was anxious, ere death, to render the caliphate hereditary, and to perpetuate it in his line. Accordingly he publicly named his son Yezid as his successor, and commanded the provinces to send deputies to do fealty to him. This was more than Mahomet himself, or any of his successors, had ventured to require. The delegates arrived from all parts to Damascus, and gave their hands to Yezid, in pledge of fealty; thus establishing the dynasty of Ommiah, which extended over nearly a hundred

years. Fourteen of them were designated the Pharaohs of that line. With Moawyah were introduced the luxury and splendour, so linked with all our notions of Oriental pomp and proverbially designated the insignia of a caliphate, which had succeeded to the stern and frugal simplicity of the early Islams. The waters and the gardens of Damascus were irresistible persuasions to indolence—that peculiar luxury, known among the Orientals by the term *Kaife*, and in the West by the expressive Italian phrase, *Dolce far niente*. The seat of the caliphate was fixed at Damascus; for neither Medina nor Cufa were now considered fit residences for the Moslem caliphs. Moawyah, having provided for his son, and being well stricken in years, gave up the ghost in the fifty-eighth year of the Hegira, A.D. 679. The impression on his signet was singularly illustrative of his own brilliant career and end, as of the vanity of all human ambition—

“ALL POWER RESTS WITH GOD.”

## CHAPTER XIII.

Accession of Yezid—His character—Achbar's successes—Rebellion—Its suppression—Achbar defeated and slain—Hosein lays claim to the caliphate—He is murdered, and his family made prisoners—Abdallah proclaimed caliph—Medina carried by storm—Death of Yezid—Succeeded by Moawyah the Second—His character—Abdicates—His death—Civil discord—Abdallah defeated, and Merwan proclaimed caliph—Fresh dissensions—Death of Merwan—Succeeded by Abdul-Malec—Jerusalem made a holy city—Al Moktar—Invasion of Babylonia—Amru executed—Battle of Tadmor—Abdul Malec victorious—Returns to Damascus.

ON the seventh of April, A.D. 679, the first day of the month of Rajeb, in the fifty-eighth year of the Hegira, Yezid, then in his thirty-fourth year, was proclaimed caliph—a man who is said to have been gifted with talents, but addicted to every debasing vice, delighting in splendid attire, passionately fond of music and poetry, and much given to indulge in the indolent kaife : all these the result of long residence in the delightful but enervating climate of Damascus. But whilst the seventh caliph was idly spending his hours and days, the brave general Achbar had returned to his command in Africa, to pursue his career of conquest. Arriving at his post, he displaced Muslema, who had been appointed by Muhegir, to succeed him, and laid him in prison,

He then placed Muhegir himself in irons ; because he had perpetrated much mischief, during his absence, by destroying the cities he had built, and ruining the stronghold of Carwahn. To this latter place the population was speedily restored ; and it very soon rose to greater importance than ever. Leaving Zohair Eben Kais in charge of Carwahn, Achbar proceeded westward, carrying Muhegir with him in chains. He traversed Numidia (Algiers), and the extensive countries of Morocco, the ancient Mauritania subduing and converting the inhabitants,—till, arriving at the western shores of Africa, the waters of the Atlantic opposed his further progress. Here, spurring his steed up to the saddle-girths in the surge, he is said to have elevated his scimitar towards heaven, exclaiming—“*Did not these waters present an insuperable barrier, I would carry the faith and the law of the faithful to countries reaching from the rising of the sun to the setting thereof.*” But soon after this, tidings reached Achbar, that a rebellion had broken out in his rear, and that Carwahn was in imminent danger. He had overdone his task, and had now to pay dearly for the temerity which the sagacious Omar had so often and so carefully repressed amongst his generals. Achbar hastened back to the succour of Carwahn. As he marched through Numidia, he was much harassed by a band of mountaineers, who would never let themselves be entangled in a pitched battle ; but, descending from their fastnesses, cut off the stragglers, and carried havoc into the broken ranks. On reaching Carwahn the general was glad to find everything secure. Zohair, assisted by Omar

Eben Ali, having suppressed the rebellion; distributed his army about the neighbourhood, forming the residue into a flying troop of cavalry, which revisited Numidia to scour the country and take vengeance on the mountaineers, who had harassed them on their march; this latter force was commanded by Achbar in person. Without being opposed, this force reached Jehuda, where in a defile he found himself surrounded by a host of Greeks and Berbers, headed by the same chief, Eben Cohina, whose mountain band he had returned to exterminate. Achbar saw that destruction was inevitable; and accordingly liberated his prisoner, Muhegir, telling him, that this was a day of martyrdom, and consequently, liberty for them all; and that he would not therefore deprive him of earning for himself the paradise of the faithful. The little Islam band were literally cut to pieces; and the body of Achbar was found upon a heap of slain, his broken scimitar still grasped by his lifeless hand.

During these events in Africa Yezid was endeavouring to secure undisputed possession of the caliphate. The only two whom he feared as competitors, were Hosein and Abdallah, the sons of Ali and Zobeir, who were both residing at Medina. Yezid wrote from Damascus to the governor of Medina, directing him to require from them the oath of fealty; but they, learning that their lives would be in peril through the intrigues of the governor and of Mewan Eben Hackem, the villanous ex-secretary of Othman, fled with their families to Mecca, where they openly opposed Yezid. Shortly after this, the



people of Cufa secretly invited Hosein ; assuring him of a hearty welcome, and that all Babylonia would rise in favour of the son of Ali ; but Hosein thought it wisest to send his cousin Mushin, the son of that Okail who had so treacherously deserted his brother the Caliph Ali in his misfortunes, to examine and report the true position of affairs. After many difficulties, Mushin crossed the desert of Irak. He was well received at Cufa ; and in a short time, a hundred and forty thousand men were ready to proclaim Hosein on his presenting himself to them. Numan Eben Baschir, the governor of Cufa, was in total ignorance of the plot. Not so Yezid, who hearing of it at Damascus, sent off an express to Obeidallah, the son of the famous Zahid, ordering him to proceed instantly to Cufa, displace the governor, and assume the command. This order he executed with the like energy that distinguished his father : starting with twenty fleet horsemen, he galloped into Cufa in the dusk of evening, just about the time that Hosein was expected ; and the rebels, mistaking their man, clamoured joyously round the stern Obeidallah, who froze their hearts'-blood by rising up in his saddle, and declaring himself cousin of the caliph elect—Yezid, the Emir Obeidallah, governor of Cufa. Mushin was speedily beheaded.

Meanwhile Hosein, induced by letters he had received from the unfortunate Mushin, contrary to the advice of his friends, set out for Cufa, taking with him his women and household. It is needless to follow his tragic course. He was met by troops, sent out by Obeidallah, in lieu of meeting, as he

expected, Mushin and his partisans, to the amount of 140,000 Cufite men. Hosein was slain, and his family sent captives to Damascus, where they were well treated by Yezid; who sent them under careful convoy to Medina. The anniversary of the martyrdom of Hosein is kept with great solemnity in Persia and Media; and in after years a splendid mausoleum was erected on the spot where he fell, called by the Arabs the "Mesched Hosein"—the sepulchre of Hosein. The death of Hosein furnished his friend and survivor, Abdallah the son of Zobeir, with a fresh claim to the caliphate, and a subject, capable, in his able hands of being well turned to account in working upon the feelings and faith of the Muslims. He was soon proclaimed caliph by the house of Haschem, possessing at the same time a majority in his favour at Mecca and Medina. The public, rendered enthusiastic by his oratory and by the pathos of his references to Hosein, gathered round the standard of Abdallah; and an Egyptian soothsayer, engaged probably for the purpose, openly declared that the star of Abdallah had foreshown his living and dying in the possession of regal power. Merwan, the crafty secretary of Othman, had now risen to be governor of Medina: and to him Yezid wrote, exhorting him to watch the movements of Abdallah; sending him, at the same time, a silver collar, which he commanded Merwan to place round the mock caliph's neck, and to send him in chains to Damascus, should he persist in his assumption. Merwan evaded compliance with this order; and though the governors of Mecca were repeatedly changed, Yezid found himself outwitted by Abdallah.

Deputies, who had been sent from the provinces to Damascus, to negotiate affairs with the caliph, returned to their simple Arab homes with such accounts of Yezid's dissolute life, as perfectly shocked the sternly moral Islams of Arabia. The aversion caused by these representations was still farther fomented by the partisans of Abdallah; whose cause was eventually espoused, till the disaffection extended to the house of Ommiah, of which Yezid was an unworthy branch. At length open rebellion broke out, and Yezid with difficulty found one infirm old general to espouse his cause. The veteran Meslem quitted Damascus with 12,000 horse and 5000 foot. Arriving at Medina, he found the place securely entrenched and fortified. On the fourth day the city was stormed, and compelled to surrender. Ali, the son of Hosein, and the partisans and household of Ommiah, were dispatched, under careful escort, to Damascus, and then the place was given up to three days' pillage. In the sixtieth year of the Hegira, A.D. 682, Meslem, whose memory is execrated by all devout Moslems, died on his march to Mecca; and the command was assumed by Hozein Eben Thamie, a Syrian by birth. This general besieged Mecca for forty days; and just as the inhabitants feared to share the same fate as the people of Medina, news arrived that Yezid had expired at Hawwarin, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the sixty-first of the Hegira, A.D. 683, after an indolent and worthless reign of three years and six months. This event changed the fortunes of war. Thamie offered allegiance to Abdallah; but this latter, fearing treachery, simply permitted the Syrian general and his troops,

without arms, to march in procession round the ruins of the Caaba, which had been destroyed during the siege by fire. Part of the family of Ommiah, then at Mecca, accompanied the Syrians on their return to Damascus. All the sectarians of Ali hold the memory of Yezid in abhorrence, as the instigator of the murder of the two brothers, Hassein and Hosein; and charge him with sacrilege, in ordering the sack of Medina and Mecca. Moawyah the Second, son of Yezid, was proclaimed at Damascus eighth caliph of the Moslem empire, being the third of the house of Ommiah—a man feeble in mind and body, and one of the sect of Kadarii—maintaining the free will of men against the dictates of wiser counsels and better conscience. This second Moawyah was in his twenty-first year when he reluctantly assumed the caliphate; for his health was so bad, that he was compelled—most probably from weak eyes—to shut himself up in darkened apartments, whence the Arabs named him *Abu Lailhi*—the father of night. His chief counsellor was one Omar Ahueksus, who is said to have counselled him to abdicate, after a short sway of six months' duration; for which advice the Ommiades buried the unfortunate man alive. This youthful caliph refused to nominate a successor, declaring that his grandfather had been a usurper, his father unworthy of so high a trust, and himself unwilling and unfit to undertake it.

Soon after his abdication he died, the wreck of a diseased frame and morbid temperament. Again was Syria rent with civil discord. The people of Damascus favouring the claims of Merwan, the

secretary, as regent during the minority of Khaled, Yezid's son ; whilst Egypt, Babylonia, Arabia, Khorassan, Medina, and Mecca, acknowledged Abdallah Eben Zobeir as caliph. Meanwhile, Obeidah Eben Zehad, the same that had caused Hosein to be slain, thought the present an auspicious moment to secure for himself an independence. By his eloquence, and with the assistance of the immense wealth he had accumulated, Obeidallah succeeded : but ultimately he was obliged to fly for his life ; leaving the populace to divide amongst themselves the treasure which he had laid up for years, doubtless with a secret ambition of attaining the highest power. After many fatigues he arrived at Damascus, in time to take an active part in the election of Merwan as caliph, while Bassorah declared its allegiance to Abdallah. The claims of the former were admitted only in Syria, and there were even there two factions. Dehac Eben Kais, ex-governor of Cufa, declared for Abdallah with a powerful party. A conflict ensued between the two factions ; in which Dehac and many others were slain, and the victory sided with Merwan, who was proclaimed caliph and obliged to marry the mother of Khaled, Yezid's brother. Merwan speedily marched against Egypt, but twice returned ; and twice again faced about, tidings having reached him about the prowess of his lieutenant, another Amru, who ultimately subjugated Egypt. The people of Khorassan refused to acknowledge either caliph ; they appointed Selem, a younger brother of Obeidallah, to act as regent, till affairs should be finally settled. The fickle people of Cufa

seemed to awaken from a prolonged lethargy, and declared in favour of the descendants of Ali ; only, however, the next day to repudiate them. Four thousand men, under an aged general, did absolutely start on a fanatical expedition to destroy both claimants to the caliphate and their adherents ; and so, rushing upon their fate, they were all slain. Meanwhile, the fate of the heroic Achbar on the plains of Numidia was known at Damascus and Medina. Flushed with success Eben Cahena attacked Carwahu, but was defeated by Zohair. At this time reinforcements arrived from Egypt, which helped to revive the courage of the Moslems. This only endured for a while ; a large force from Constantinople, under experienced generals, landed on the coast of Africa. The Egyptians deserted their standard, Carwahu was vanquished, and the Moslems compelled to fall back upon Barca. Abdul-Malec, the eldest son of Merwan, marched to the succour of the discomfited Islam general ; and the two forces combined marched upon Carwahn, defeating the enemy in every action, and finally replanted the standard of Islam in Carwahn. After this Abdul-Malec returned to Damascus, where Merwan, having caused him to be proclaimed as his successor, died after a reign of about eleven months, in the sixty-second year of the Hegira, A.D. 684. Abdul-Malec, the eleventh caliph, was proclaimed, and acknowledged in Syria, Egypt, and Africa. He was in the prime of life when he succeeded to the musnud ; full of enterprise, and distinguished as an able general and an accomplished scholar ; but so avaricious, that he was surnamed by the Arabs

Kafhol Hagha, signifying, in our vernacular, *Skinflint*. Abdallah Eben Zobeir was still acknowledged caliph of a great part of the Moslem dominions; holding the seat of government at Mecca, which gave him great influence over the troops of pilgrims, that even at that early period annually resorted to the Caaba. Abdul-Malec, jealous of this, established a rival city of pilgrimage; fixing, for this purpose, on El Khodus (Jerusalem), sacred in the eyes of Moslems, as the field connected with the acts and revelations of Jesus Christ and of Moses, (both of whom they acknowledge and reverence as prophets,) as well as the stage whereon Mahomet pretended to have made his miraculous ascent to heaven; besides all this, the place was surrounded by the tombs of the patriarchs. The temple at Jerusalem, where Omar had prayed upon the steps, was converted into a mosque; and enlarged so as to inclose these steps, and the stone called Jacob's stone on which the patriarch is said to have slumbered during his inspired dream; this was kissed by Moslem pilgrims, as they had heretofore kissed the black stone of the Caaba. During the caliphate of Abdul-Malec, there was a fierce warrior, a son of Abu Obeidah, who was named Al Moktar (or the Avenger), because he undertook to avenge the death of Hosein: with almost insuperable difficulties to contend against, he accomplished his vow; being mortally wounded, and his small but sturdy band of seven hundred followers cut down to a man. His death enabled Musab Eben Zobeir, a brother of the Caliph Abdallah, to govern Baby-lonia and Cufa. He was, at this period, a comely

man in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and in all points well adapted to gain the esteem and love of the people.

Abdul-Malec hearing of his success invaded Babylonia himself; heading his army, and leaving his cousin Amru, who had been Merwan's lieutenant in Egypt, to govern Syria during his absence. The kinsmen deeply hated each other; and the caliph had barely turned his back before Amru aspired to the caliphate. Abdul-Malec hearing this, hastened back; and a deadly conflict ensued between the two cousins and their adherents in the streets of Damascus. The women are said to have rushed between the combatants, holding up their children and imploring both sides to desist from so unnatural a combat. Amru laid down his arms, and articles of reconciliation were signed. The caliph broke his faith; and, getting his cousin into his power, he struck off his head with his own scimitar; then, banishing his family, put all who had sided with Amru to death. On the departure of the exiles the caliph demanded the written contract of Amru's widow, who replied that she had folded it in his winding-sheet, to be produced at the day of judgment. Abdul-Malec now resumed his march to Babylonia, having sent trusty messengers before him to tamper with the fealty of Abdallah's subjects. One of these, too honest to undertake so treacherous an office, showed Mulab his instructions, and warned him to be on the alert. A battle took place near Tadmor (Palmyra); it commenced by a heavy charge of cavalry, commanded by Ibrahim Eben Alashter (the very man who had warned Mulab of



treachery), which dealt a severe blow to the Syrians. On a second charge Ibrahim was slain, the Cufians turned and fled, and Musab was left to his fate; he and his youthful son Isa fighting till both were hacked to pieces. The faithless Cufians thronged to welcome Abdul-Malec when he entered Cufa triumphantly; and so the caliph possessed himself of Babylonia and Persian Irak. Abdul-Malec appointed his brother Beshar Eben Merwan governor of Babylonia; naming Musa Eben Nosseyr, who had long enjoyed his father's confidence, as vizier to the youthful governor. This man we shall hereafter find figuring as a noted character in the pages of Islam conquest. The caliph intrusted Musa with the military rolls of the province, holding him responsible; and the young governor confided to him the seal of office, intrusting to him the entire direction of the government. Having made all these arrangements, Abdul-Malec returned to Damascus. He was now undisputed sovereign of all the eastern part of the Moslem dominions, and further secured peace in other quarters by a shameful augmentation of tribute to the Christian emperor; but he did all this to enable him the better to carry out his scheme of attacking Abdallah, and bearding him in his very den at Mecca. How he went to work to accomplish this end, and how he succeeded, will be seen in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER XIV.

**Expedition against Abdallah—Siege of Mecca—Gallant defence and death of Abdallah—Successful attack on Khorassan—The Caliph's severity—Rebellion at Bassorah suppressed—Fanatical outbreak of Saleh Eben Mari and Shebib Eben Zeid—Peace restored—War with the Greek emperor Leontius—Siege and destruction of Carthage—The sorceress Cahina—She lays waste the country—Is made prisoner and beheaded—Musa Eben Nosseyr—His military successes—Is appointed Emir of Africa—Great victory in Africa—Destruction of the Islam fleet by a tempest.**

HEDJADJI EBEN YUSEF, appointed to command the expedition to Mecca, was joined by five thousand troops under Tarik Eben Amru. The former general is celebrated in Moslem history as the ablest and most eloquent man of his day. Free pardon and protection were proclaimed to all who would join the standard of these generals. Abdallah sent troops to check their progress, but his precaution was unavailing. Hedjadji arrived at the city gates. Before commencing the assault, arrows, whereto proclamations and letters for the inhabitants were attached, were discharged over the walls; warning the inhabitants to desert Abdallah, who was so obstinate as to resist to the last, though their sacred city should crumble into ruins. The city was assailed with battering-rams, whilst flaming balls of pitch and naphtha were thrown over the walls and set

fire to the houses. A violent storm of thunder and lightning ensued, which killed some of the besiegers ; and the rest, panic struck, would have desisted and fled, had not Hedjadji set the example and thrown a stone himself. Next day there was another storm ; and then several of the garrison were struck, which fact Hedjadji noticed to his troops to reassure them. Abdallah, though old and infirm, held out bravely against the besiegers. It is said that his mother displayed wonderful energy and courage during the siege, she being a grand-daughter of Abu Bekir ; ten thousand are said to have deserted to the camp of Hedjadji, and many supporters of Abdallah were slain. In this forlorn plight, he was offered his own conditions of surrender ; but, consulting his mother as usual, she reminded him that his father Zobeir had died for the same cause, and advised him not to bend to the yoke of the line of Ommiah ; saying that it was better to die honourably than live dishonoured for the few years that yet remained for him. Finally, after prodigies of valour, the poor old man was struck down by a brick, which hastened his death ; and he sank exhausted, fighting to the last, dying, after a disastrous nine years' reign, in the seventy-second year of his age, and the seventieth year of the Hegira ; so that, in those climates, where girls are frequently mothers at fourteen and fifteen, the aged mother of Abdallah, who aided in the fight to the last, must have passed her eighty-sixth year. She died in a few hours after hearing of her son's gallant conduct and death. Thus ended the rival caliphate. The oath of fealty was administered to all the Arabs of those districts.

Hedjadji remained governor of Mecca and Medina, as notorious for his cruelty as he was renowned for his valour. Under his administration the Caaba, which had been so often injured during the strifes of contending parties, was reconstructed on the original plan of architecture that had existed in the days of the prophet. Finally, Hedjadji was sent to Khorassan to bring into subjection its haughty emir; who had been appointed by Abdallah, and who refused to acknowledge Abdul-Malec. This latter, to intimidate him, sent him the head of Abdallah, together with a letter, holding out an offer of the government of Khorassan for seven years, with the enjoyment of all its revenues, provided the emir took the oath of fealty; but, if he refused, he might expect to share the fate of Abdallah. The emir had the head embalmed, and sent it to the family of the deceased caliph of Mecca. He declared that he would never acknowledge Abdul-Malec, and sending for the messenger, insisted on his eating the caliph's letter in his presence; at the same time informing him that it was only the sacred office of envoy that saved his head. Hedjadji was successful in his enterprise; and, having slain the emir, succeeded to the government of Irak, then vacant by the death of Beshir, the caliph's younger brother. Aware of the restless and faithless disposition of the people of Irak, and full well knowing how impressible were their minds by parade and pomp, Hedjadji took possession of his new government with much military splendour. Entering Cufa at the head of four thousand cavalry, he galloped up to the mosque, alighted, entered, and ascending the pulpit, delivered

an eloquent but intimidating harangue ; wherein he told them that he purposed ruling with an iron sway, to make the wicked bear his own burthen ; then, glancing sternly round upon the assembled multitude, observed that he saw many turbaned heads ready for the sickle, and beards which required being washed in blood. With this awful hint he descended, immediately to put into practice what he had preached. He was especially severe towards those who had had any hand in the fate of the caliph Othman ; and he came prepared to persecute Musa Eben Nosseyr, who had been prime minister of the deceased brother of the caliph. This old and faithful servant was charged with dishonesty in treasury affairs, whereto the caliph, without investigating, gave ear. A friend from Damascus warned him in time to fly from the power of Hedjadji, who would certainly have taken his life.

Musa succeeded in reaching Damascus, where, placing himself under the protection of another brother of the caliph's, Abdalaziz, viceroy of Egypt, through him the caliph was appeased, not however before Musa had been mulcted in 50,000 dinars of gold. He then accompanied Abdalaziz to Egypt. Meanwhile Hedjadji, having settled matters at Cufa, went to Bassorah. Here he was equally rigorous. The people having rebelled, a pitched battle ensued, in which the troops under Hedjadji were victorious, and eighteen heads of the ringleaders were sent to the caliph as trophies of victory. In the seventy-third year of the Hegira, A.D. 695, two Karagite fanatics, of the same sect as those three who had vowed to destroy Moawyah, Amru, and Ali, plotted

against the life of Abdul-Malec ; but being discovered, fled to Mesopotamia ; where, at the town of Dara, they managed to assemble together one hundred and twenty malcontents. These two men were named Saleh Eben Mari and Shebib Eben Zeid—the former an eloquent flatterer, who completely bewildered his infatuated companions with his rhetoric, mingling inflammatory suggestions with quotations from the Koran and the poets. Finally, Saleh was unanimously chosen their leader, and hailed as Commander of the Faithful, which office he gravely accepted ; and this handful of freebooters, being well armed, but lacking horses, made a descent upon a village, and seized upon the best animals, tendering the prophet as security for their value. Mahomet, a brother of the caliph, hearing of this, burst out laughing ; but being governor of Mesopotamia, ordered Ali, one of his officers, to take five hundred men and exterminate this gang of fanatics. Ali said that one madman was more to be feared than five sane soldiers. He however proceeded, with a thousand well-armed and disciplined men, and found these bandits gradually augmenting in numbers. Saleh, seeing the approach of Ali, prepared for battle confident that, superior as they were in numbers, they would speedily be crushed by the assistance of an invisible host, which, as the fanatics fervently believed, would uphold him. Ali held parley, wishing to save bloodshed ; but Saleh was not to be convinced. Still hoping he might repent of his rashness, Ali delayed the attack. At mid-day, he and his followers were at prayers, when, of a sudden, with a loud shout, Saleh's gang charged

in amongst them, killed Ali and several others, and put the rest to flight. The camp, arms, and horses became the prize of the freebooters. This, of course, only augmented their superstitious confidence. Their numbers rapidly increased. Troops, sent out by Hedjadji, succeeded in killing Saleh ; but the other chief and his followers had almost miraculous escapes, and continued to infest the country. Shebib, being thrown into a deep river, by his horse accidentally stumbling, was drowned. Hedjadji had now to contend with one of his own generals, who, for a time, was successful ; being acknowledged as caliph throughout the territories bordering on the Euphrates and Tigris. He was, however, eventually overcome by the implacable Hedjadji ; and, to save himself from falling into the hands of so cruel a foe, he committed suicide.

In the year sixty-nine of the Hegira, peace was again restored throughout the Moslem dominions, which were now united, under the caliphdom of Abdul-Malec ; and this caliph, being freed from the bonds of civil discord, now turned his thoughts to foreign conquest, hoping to revive in his name the early triumphs of Islam ; and first, he threw off the tribute to the Greek emperor, which, originating in the reign of Moawyah the First, at three thousand dinars of gold annually, had now augmented to the yearly sum of three hundred and sixty-five thousand. The Christian emperor Leontius had made himself unpopular ; and the caliph, availing himself of the troubled state of his affairs, sent Abid on a predatory expedition. Abid returned with much booty ; and Lazuca and Baruncium were taken by the Mos-

lems, through the treachery of Sergius, one of the Greek emperor's generals. During the civil wars in the Moslem empire, the Christians had retaken most of their African possessions, slaying Zohair, the commander of Barca; so that it was only in the interior that the Moslems yet held any strong positions. The caliph determined to recover all these. In the seventy-fourth year of the Hegira, Hassan Eben Annomarn was sent, with forty thousand picked men, to subjugate the northern coasts of Africa; and proceeded to Carthage, of which he after a time made himself master. Most of the inhabitants fell by the sword; but some escaped by sea to Sicily and Spain. The walls were demolished, the city given up to plunder, and several beautiful females were taken captives. But while rejoicing over their late victories, a fleet suddenly appeared in the offing, bringing troops from Constantinople and Sicily, reinforced by Goths from Spain; the expedition being under the command of the Prefect John, an experienced and valiant soldier. The Arab commander, finding himself unable to contend against overwhelming numbers, retired to Carwahn; where the Muslims fortified themselves, patiently awaiting the reinforcements, which in due time arrived. With their combined forces, the Moslems routed John and his adherents, besieged Carthage, and razed that noble city to the ground, giving the place up to flames. The imperial troops were rapidly expelled from the coast of Africa; but the Moslems had a formidable enemy to contend with in Cahina the sorceress, the mother of that Eben Cahina who had so harassed the troops of the noble and gallant Achbar. Under



this pseudo-prophetess and queen the Moors and Berbers made a valiant stand; and after several engagements Hassan was compelled to fall back upon the frontiers of Egypt. On this, Cahina is said to have addressed her troops, suggesting that they should lay waste the cities and countries intervening between her own possessions and the land of Egypt; saying that the wealth and the fruitfulness of these parts were the inducements which led these Islams continually to disturb their quiet and predicting that they would be sure, so long as these existed, to return again in greater numbers. Her suggestion was immediately acted upon. Cities and towns were razed with the ground; fruit-trees cut down; fields desolated with fire; and the whole aspect of the country, from Tangiers to Tripoli, converted, from being one extensive garden, into a hideous waste, with not a tree standing to shelter the wayfarer from the sun. But the inhabitants of the plains, who were great sufferers by this extreme measure, hailed the return of the Moslems. Cahina was again in the field. This time her ranks were thinned by desertion, and she was taken prisoner and beheaded. Hassan returned, laden with booty, to Damascus; where he was received with honour, and made governor of Barca, still retaining the military command of the provinces in Africa. Hassan, however, fell a victim to his honours; for the caliph's brother, then viceroy of Egypt, offended that his own lieutenant should be superseded in Barca, waylaid Hassan and deprived him of his appointment, keeping him so closely guarded that he died of a broken heart. Abdalaziz Eben Merwan, the caliph's brother, named

Musa Eben Nosseyr to the command in northern Africa. Musa was sixty years old, but still hale and vigorous. He was accompanied by his three sons, one of whom he had named after his patron, Abdalaziz—another, after the caliph's family, Merwan. Musa joined the army in Africa, and told the soldiers that he was one of themselves; if they found him act well, to thank God and endeavour to imitate him; if wrong, to reprove, and show him his error; and if any among them had to complain, let them speak out like men; finally, said he, *I have instructions from the caliph to pay you three times the amount of arrears due*: and if anything made the cheers of the soldiers more hearty, it was this winding up to his speech. A sparrow is said to have fluttered into his bosom whilst he was speaking; which Musa interpreted into a favourable omen, crying, "Victory, by the Master of the Caaba; the victory is ours;" at the same time scattering the feathers of the poor bird into the air. Musa was liberal, and quite divested of pride—points that endeared him to the Moslem soldiers. On first arriving he had to contend with a Berber chief, Warkastaf, who headed a mountain horde that committed depredations between Zaghar and Carwahn; him he eventually killed, and his sons, Abdalaziz and Merwan, scattered the mountaineers and made them retreat beyond the borders of the southern desert. Musa sent his patron a large share of the spoils which had been taken in Africa; and these chanced to arrive in Egypt at the very moment that Abdalaziz, the viceroy, was at his wits' end, how to appease the wrath of his brother

the caliph ; who, enraged at the treatment of Hassan, but ignorant of his death, had written to enforce his immediate reinstatement ; saying that Musa was a man who had incurred the displeasure of government, and was in every way unfitted for his post. In reply, Abdalaziz submitted the account of his recent victories, which reached Damascus with the caliph's portion of the booty. The caliph, who, as we have seen, was an avaricious man, immediately decided in Musa's favour ; and confirmed his brother's appointment ; making Musa emir of Africa, granting him an annual pension of two hundred pieces of gold, a hundred each to himself and his two sons who had so well distinguished themselves, with thirty pieces a head for the five hundred most distinguished soldiers ; revoking the heavy fine formerly imposed upon Musa—which latter, however, he declined to accept, devoting it to the propagation of the Islam faith. It was in the seventy-fifth year of the Hegira that Musa was confirmed in his post ; and in the eightieth Musa fought the severest contest of his African campaign, defeating strong hordes of the barbarians in their own fastnesses amongst the defiles of Mount Atlas. At last the two armies came to a pitched battle, when a Berber chief challenged any Moslem champion to single combat. There being some delay in answering this challenge, Merwan, the son of Musa, was deputed to undertake the conflict ; when, though very inferior in size and strength, he slew both horse and rider, thrusting his javelin through them both. Kasleyah the king of the Berbers was slain, and the victory completed ; and Merwan espoused the

daughter of the deceased king, having by her two sons. But Musa, not satisfied with triumphs by land, longed to launch out upon the seas. The caliph had ordered his predecessors to erect an arsenal at Tunis; and Musa undertook to carry out this project, building dockyards and a fleet to accomplish his proposed enterprise. Many people opposed this scheme, even as their descendants the modern Arabs set their face against any improvements, as innovations which were not practised by their ancestors before them. One old Berber advised him to persevere; and Musa followed the advice—to such purpose, that by the end of the year eighty-one of the Hegira, A.D. 703, the arsenal and dockyard were completed, and a strong fleet rode at anchor in the port of Tunis. About this time, a fleet sent by Abdalaziz to make a descent upon the coast of Sardinia, entered the port of Susa, not far from Tunis. Musa sent supplies; but warned the commander that the season was already far advanced, and that he had best winter where he was. The admiral, despising this counsel of a landsman, put to sea, took the island of Lampedosa, capturing immense booty; with which his ships were returning heavily laden, when a mighty tempest arose—the fleet was driven upon the rocky coast of Africa, and nearly all hands perished. Musa, hearing of this disaster, dispatched his son Abdalaziz, with a troop of horsemen, as a coast guard, to protect from wreckers the property that was drifting ashore. A heavy box was cast up by the sea, full of precious stones and coins, said to have been equal to one share of the prize money allotted by the deceased

admiral to his sailors. Soon as the storm cleared up, as much as could be saved of the wrecked vessels was towed into Tunis harbour, and such vessels as admitted of repair were speedily docked, and added to the fleet; in which Musa, biding the arrival of fine weather, intended to embark for a cruise in search of booty amongst the islands and shores of the Mediterranean.

## CHAPTER XV.

Naval expedition—Death of the caliph Abdul-Malec—Succeeded by his son Waled—His character—Ravages of the Moslems in the Mediterranean—Invasion of Spain—Treachery of Prince Julian—Successes of the Moslems—Roderic collects his forces—Discontents in his camp—Desertion of his troops—Tarik's speech to his soldiers—Defeat and death of Roderic.

EARLY in the eighty-second year of the Hegira, Musa embarked with a thousand volunteers, chosen from the bravest amongst his followers, upon his first naval expedition; but when the fleet was ready to set sail, much to the disappointment of those whom he had enlisted, he disembarked and handed over the command to his third and yet untried son, Abdolola; for his two elder brothers had already won laurels, and it was now the turn of this youngest scion of a courageous stock to carve out for himself an equal reputation. Nor did Abdolola neglect this opportunity; for, if prevented by lack of opponents on land, and of rough weather in the summer-calms of the Mediterranean, from achieving laurels as a general or admiral, he at least returned laden with spoil; so much so that each of his followers laid claim to one thousand dinars of gold as his share in the booty. And this expedition was the terrible Algerine scourge in embryo, which in after years car-

ried death and devastation wherever the black flag waved triumphant. These vessels returned to port about the same time when tidings reached Musa of the death of the caliph Abdul-Malec, which occurred in the eighty-third year of the Hegira, A.D. 705, in the sixtieth year of his age and twentieth of his reign. His son Waled was immediately proclaimed twelfth caliph or successor of the prophet at Damascus; and Musa, immediately transmitting the caliph's due of the immense booty brought home by the late maritime expedition from Tunis, at once obtained his own confirmation in his post as governor or emir of Northern Africa, while the interests of his sons were proportionately advanced. Waled was an idle and voluptuous man; he intrusted the government of his vast dominions entirely to the emirs appointed by his father, while he himself, hating to be troubled with the affairs of state, lived almost secluded from the world within the precincts of his extensive harem, where he had no less than sixty-three wives and yet died without leaving any issue. His reign is only distinguishable for the vast improvements he introduced in the architectural style of the East. A magnificent mosque at Cairo—the embellishment of the grand mosque of Omar—the stupendous building at Medina, so extended as to inclose the tomb of the prophet and the dwelling-houses of his nine wives—finally, the superb mosque at Mecca, as it stands to the present day, inclosing the Caaba the well of Zein Zein and the allotted stations of the different Moslem sects.—All these were records of his ambition for an undying fame, at the same time that his ener-

vated life secluded him from the well-won and well-worn laurels which had secured for his ancestors a home and a name. One of his fourteen brothers, Moslema, invaded Asia Minor, marching on Cappadocia, and besieging the city of Tyana strongly garrisoned by Christians. Finally, Tyana was won; and while Moslema extended his conquests, his son was spreading the faith of Islam in the East. In the early part of Waled's caliphate the fleets of Musa continued to be the scourge of the western parts of the Mediterranean. Some vessels proceeded to Sicily, some to Sardinia; Syracuse was plundered; and hundreds of beautiful women were borne away by these corsairs and sold to adorn the harems of the wealthier Moslems. Abdolala also made a successful descent upon Mallorca, whilst Musa and his eldest sons triumphed over Fez, Daguella, Morocco, and Sus—the valiant tribes of the Zeuetes capitulated, till, finally, the caliph Waled was acknowledged throughout Almagreb to Cape Nov on the Atlantic; and there only remained Tingitania, the northern extremity of Almagreb, to be subdued. Where the two vast continents of Europe and Africa were divided by the Straits of Hercules, Ceuta and Tangiers were the rocky defences of this narrow passage on the African side; there remained but the opposite stronghold of Gibraltar to secure the key to the Mediterranean; and beyond this, in the haze of distance, Musa shaded his eyes to gaze upon the purple mountains of the fair Andalusia; perhaps the night breeze wafted across that narrow channel the strange fragrance of a thousand orange groves, intermixed with the wild herbs and flowers of the moun-



tains of Spain, and woke the weary Arab from his dream of the dreary reality of his hot African clime to the desired conquest of that unknown country. Brightly were such dreams realized in the siege and subsequent capture of Ceuta, and in the ultimate conquest of Spain.

It is said that Tangiers had never been subdued by an enemy until it was vanquished by Musa and his generals; but, once in the hand of the Moslems, it was speedily converted into one of their chief strongholds; and, this done, the troops under Musa pressed on against Ceuta. Tarik-Eben-Zeyab was appointed governor of Tangiers; with nineteen thousand Berbers of his own tribe, well provided in every requisite for warfare. This general's name was also pronounced "Tarif;"\* hence the name Tarifa, where the Moslems first set foot on Spanish soil, led on by Tarik. The Islam fleet sailed from the port of Tangiers, and, on the 28th of July, A.D. 711, the eighty-ninth year of the Hegira, the Mahometan troops were disembarked at Tarifa. Prince Julian, or, as the Arabs call him, Ilyan, ruled as sovereign in Ceuta—a man of great courage and resolution. He on more than one occasion compelled Musa to raise the siege. Julian acknowledged the Gothic sway, and followed their religion; but it is said that, to revenge a private injury received from the Gothic king, who had abused Julian's confidence and defamed his honour, that prince secretly offered his services and experience in facilitating the operations

\* The fiscal term—Tariff—which Johnson, somewhat loosely etymologizes "perhaps a Spanish word," may be derived from this place, so convenient for the levy of foreign duties.

of the troops under Musa, during their first invasion of the Spanish coast. Alkhozeyni, a noted eastern writer, referring to this treasonable conduct of Julian, says, "It was the custom among the Goths for the princes and princesses of the royal blood, and the members of the first nobility, to send their sons and daughters to be educated with the children of the reigning king, at Toledo. In compliance with this usage, Julian, the lord of Ceuta—a city then under King Roderick, inhabited by Christians—took his daughter, a beautiful and innocent creature, across the straits, and placed her at the court of Toledo. Roderick, smitten by her charms, abused the sacred trust; whereat Julian was so exasperated, that, notwithstanding the severity of the weather—it being the depth of winter—he crossed over to Toledo, and, under the pretence of his daughter's mother's illness requiring her immediate presence, he succeeded in carrying away his child; but before parting, this worthless monarch is said to have asked Julian to send him some shadhankahs, a species of swift hawk, which abounded in North Africa; and Julian replied, that he would bring him a new species, better than even what he had asked for, such as he had never hunted with before"—thereby alluding to his intended invasion with the Arabs; and no sooner had Julian returned to Africa, than he set off for Carwhan, where Musa held his court. There, he drew such a picture of the fertility of the soil, the beauty of the country, and its inexhaustible mines, as made Musa at once dispatch messengers to the Caliph Waled, soliciting his permission to carry on the invasion. Meanwhile, to put Julian's faith to

the test, it was first proposed that he should embrace Islamism—and to this he readily acceded ; secondly, that he should make an incursion into Spain—and this project he immediately executed ; embarking with his troops in two vessels, and landing on the coast of Algesiras, whence he returned laden with captives and spoil. Intelligence of this success spread like lightning throughout the Moslem possessions in Africa ; and thousands of Mahometans flocked to the standard of Julian, whom they no longer doubted as insincere. The caliph having advised Musa to explore the country first of all with light troops, he sent the Berber general, Tarik ; who also returned laden with spoil and slaves. Julian went a second time to Carwhan, and informed Musa of the success that had attended these expeditions ; and this induced the emir to make an immediate effort for the capture of the kingdom of Spain. It is said that when Tarik and his followers first landed, they were confronted by the Gothic general Theodomir, who had been deputed by Roderick to defend that coast ; but Theodomir found it impossible to resist the prowess of these Moslems. Accordingly he wrote to Roderick, saying, “ This our land has been invaded by a people, whose name, country, and origin are unknown to me ; and I cannot even tell whence they came—whether they fell from the skies, or sprang from the earth.” The Gothic king, who had been called to Pampolona by serious disturbances, well knowing that this unexpected blow came from the injured Julian, and aware of the menaced danger, marched with his powerful army upon Cordova ; where he took up his position in

his royal castle to await the arrival of the reinforcements he had summoned from the various provinces of his kingdom. Roderick had usurped the throne from the sons of Wittiza, yet in the hour of need he did not hesitate in claiming their alliance and aid against the mutual foe; nor did they hesitate to seize this opportunity of recovering, if not their kingdom, the vast domains that had been confiscated by the usurper. At first they were unwilling to credit his intentions; or to give ear to his argument, that in the hour of public need all private feuds should be set aside; but, though fearing further treachery, they collected their forces and encamped near Cordova, unwilling to trust themselves within the walls.

At last Roderick marched out to encounter the invaders, and then the forces under the sons of Wittiza joined themselves to the main body of the army; which is said, with this addition, to have amounted to nearly one hundred thousand men, provided with all known weapons and military stores. Tarik, learning the approach of this formidable force, sent immediately to Musa desiring reinforcements; informing him at the same time of his capture of Algesiras, a port of Andalusia, which commanded a passage for the Islam arms into Spain. Musa, who had built and collected a large fleet, immediately sent five thousand Islams; who, added to the troops already in Spain, made the force under Tarik amount to twelve thousand fighting men, all anxious for battle and eager for plunder. These were farther augmented by Julian and his forces, a people now tributary to the caliphs; and who were well adapted,

from their knowledge of the country and its inhabitants, to render important service to the invaders. Whilst the Islams were preparing for the encounter, the forces of Roderic daily drew nearer, headed by the bishops and the clergy, with all the pomp of the Catholic church, and supported by the most distinguished nobles in the land; but discontent reigned in the camp. Roderic was detested by many powerful followers; and these plotted his downfall secretly, at the very moment while they were professedly supporting him against the invaders. At these secret assemblies Roderic was condemned as a wretch of low descent, who had usurped honours and titles which he was unfit to sustain. They supposed that Tarik had only made a predatory excursion, such as the Islams had made at Majorca and other islands; and that, once loaded with booty, he and his followers would quickly return into Africa. It was therefore unanimously resolved to desert Roderic in the midst of the battle; so that, he being killed, they might choose whom they would for their king, and then reunite to expel the foe. In this plot, the sons of Wittiza, who hoped to regain the throne, joined heart and hand; and when the two armies drew up in battle array, emissaries were dispatched to Tarik, acquainting him with the intentions of the Spaniards; but the sons of Wittiza stipulated that the whole of their father's possessions, amounting to three thousand valuable and chosen farms, known in Arabic as the *Safaya-l-Moluk* (the royal portion), should be secured to them after the Islams should have subdued all Andalusia. To these conditions Tarik readily consented; and the very next day, when the

battle raged high, Roderic found his army wofully diminished by the desertion of more than half of his troops to the standard of Islam, and to this treachery is attributed the facility with which the Moors overran the kingdom of Spain. Tarik's speech to his chosen band of hardy warriors is very characteristic of these early Moslem conquerors; on beholding the formidable host under Roderic approach, horsemen and foot, with cart-loads of warlike ammunition, headed by the usurper, who was carried in a tactorahwan placed between two mules, having overhead an awning richly set with pearls rubies and emeralds — Tarik must have remembered the recent Moslem triumphs in Persia, where they captured a similarly rich trophy in the carpet found at the palace of Kosrus:—often upon it had monarchs proudly stepped. Under a canopy not less splendid, another potentate was then sitting in all the state of royalty; and both, he hoped, might be recorded in the annals of Islam conquests. At all events, he was determined that he and every man with him should conquer or die; and the better to impress this on the minds of his followers, and to spur them on to unfailing courage, he harangued them to the following effect—having first, in the presence of the assembled troops, returned thanks to heaven for the success that had hitherto attended their arms, and implored the Almighty's blessing and help:—

*Whither, O sons of Ishmael and followers of the Prophet, can ye hope to fly? the enemy is before us—the sea is behind—the vessels that brought us over have all been, by my orders, destroyed or sent away. By Allah! there is no hope for us but in our own*

*valour and persistence. Our position in this strange land is similar to that of so many orphans, cast friendless upon the world. We shall soon encounter a powerful enemy, surrounding us on all sides like the infuriated billows of ocean—sending against us multitudes, cased in steel and provided with mighty arms. What have we to oppose to them? Numbers? They are as ten to one! We have no weapons save our scimitars—no provisions but such as we can snatch from the enemy. We must, therefore, attack them immediately; else will our wants increase, victory may veer round in favour of our enemies, and the fear that now lurks in their hearts be dissipated. Banish, therefore, all fear from your hearts—trust that the enemy will not withstand the shock of our arms. They come to make us masters of cities and castles, and deliver into our hands uncounted treasures. Think not that I wish to impose upon you a task from which I myself would shrink, or that I seek to disguise our imminent peril. We have much to encounter—much to endure—but look to the end, and we shall reap an abundant harvest. As my interest in this affair will be greater, so shall my courage and efforts surpass yours. The Spanish maidens are said to be like the houris of Paradise, and even more beautiful—their necks glittering like caskets of jewels—their tunics are costly silks, spangled with gold and gems; and they await your arrival, reclining on soft couches, in the sumptuous palaces of the nobles of the land. The Khalif Abdul-Malek Eben Il Waled has chosen you from among the brave; and the great of this land, when they hear of your exploits, will be ready and glad to bestow upon you the hands*

*of their fairest daughters. You know that the recompenses of Allah await you, if you are prepared to uphold his words and proclaim his religion in this land. Lastly, the whole spoil shall be yours, and such Moslem friends as may be with you. Bear in mind that Allah will select from among you, according to his promise, those that most distinguish themselves, and grant them due reward, both in this world and in the future. Know also that I shall be the first to set you the example. It is my intention, on the meeting of the two hosts, to attack the Christian tyrant, Roderic, and, if Allah shall so will, slay him with my own hand. When you see me bearing toward him, charge along with me: if I kill him, the victory is ours; if I am killed before I reach him, wail not my loss, but spur on and fight as though I were still among you; and follow up my purpose, for the moment their king falls, these barbarians will disperse. Appoint then my successor from among you—one who unites courage and experience, who may follow up the victory. If you attend to all I have said, and act up to it, we are sure of triumph. This speech was received with enthusiastic applause, as the Moslem troops shouted out,—We are ready to follow thee, O Tarik! we will all stand by thee, and fight for thee! Victory is our only hope of salvation! Tarik and his followers then mounted, and passed the night in watchfulness, expecting an attack from the enemy. The bright morning sun had risen when the contending armies prepared for battle. At length the signal was given—the armies met with a shock even as of two mighty mountains, hurled against each other by the upheavings of an earth-*



quake. Roderic's heart was smitten with dread, when for the first time his eye encountered the fierce gaze of these swarthy invaders; and he is said to have exclaimed,—*By the faith of the Messiah, these are the very people whose similitude I saw painted on the scroll in the Mansion of Science at Toledo.* Foremost in the ranks of the Moslems was the apostate Julian, carving out for himself a fearful revenge; and doubtless the heart of Roderic quailed, as he beheld the man whose confidence and honour he had but a few months previously outraged. No sooner did Tarik recognize the Gothic king than he and his followers charged upon him. Roderic's body-guard were panic-struck, and fled in every direction. Availing himself of this, Tarik plunged into the ranks of the enemy, and so reaching the royal litter, wherein, upon a gorgeous throne, was seated the king, he slew him with a single stroke of his sabre. Thus the usurper, laden with crime, went to his sudden account. The Christians, on seeing the king fall, fled in confusion. The Moslems were once again triumphant; and the standard of the prophet was then first firmly planted upon Spanish territory, where the crescent flag waved, with uncertain success, through many succeeding centuries. This victory was accomplished about the year of the Hegira eighty-nine, in the middle of the month of Ramadan, corresponding with the September of the Christian year 711.

## CHAPTER XVI.

Immense booty of the Moslems—Further successes of Tarik—  
Dismay of the Spaniards—Siege and surrender of Cordova—  
Stratagem by which it was taken—Arabian story—Dread-  
ful fate of the defenders of Cordova—The Jews entrusted  
with the charge of the city—Capture of Malaga and Ghar-  
nattah—Defeat of Theodomir—Treaty with Theodomir—  
Capture of Toledo—Great spoil taken—Account of the won-  
derful table—Tarik's artifice.

IMMENSE was the spoil that fell to the lot of the  
Islams after Roderic was slain; for the princes and  
nobles amongst the Goths who had been slain in  
action were distinguishable by massive rings of  
pure gold on their fingers, whilst the commoners wore  
silver and the poorer classes copper. Tarik por-  
tioned the booty into five shares; four of which were  
divided amongst nine thousand Moslems, besides  
slaves and followers, the survivors of that brave  
but small troop which had overcome the more nu-  
merous force of King Roderic. When the Moslems  
in Africa heard of Tarik's success, they are said to  
have flocked to his standard from all quarters; prin-  
cipally led over by the hope of participating in the  
immense wealth with which the victors were laden,  
and still expected to load themselves. These rein-  
forcements considerably augmented the strength of  
the invading army; and the Spaniards fled from the  
low country; deserting their cities and towns, and

shutting themselves up in their castles and fortresses upon the mountains. After a short delay, Tarik marched upon and besieged Sidonia, or Xeres; which place he took by storm, after a considerable resistance on the part of the garrison. After that Moron, or Moror, capitulated. The Islams then gained possession of Carmona, whose inhabitants surrendered without opposition; but the next place they besieged was Ezija, whose inhabitants, numbering amongst them some of Roderick's soldiers, awhile made desperate resistance. After a sharply-contested battle, during which many of the invaders were slain, the Christians were overcome. Even here chance seems to have favoured the Moslems. Tarik had in the Spanish governor a crafty and expert foe to contend with; him he therefore watched narrowly; and perceiving, one day, that this governor, unattended, was bathing in a river close to the city walls, Tarik also ventured into the stream; and, being an expert swimmer and diver and withal a powerful man, he stealthily approached the unsuspecting functionary, and, suddenly seizing him, conveyed him a prisoner to his own camp. Soon after the city stipulated for terms, and the governor was set free. The intelligence of these successes filled Spain with terror and affliction; the spirit of chivalry sunk in the breasts of the Spanish nobles, whilst it burst through the bounds of caution with the proud victors. Surely as the sun rose upon their scimitars, sharp and ready for action, as surely did it set upon those sabres gory with the proof of valour, and sheathed by the hand flushed with victory. Thus Tarik penetrated further into the land, and, to

strike the Spaniards with still greater panic, he made them to believe that he and his followers were regular cannibals; causing his troops to cook the flesh of the slain in the presence of the terrified Gothic captives; who, being afterwards offered opportunities to escape, fled in terror to the strongholds of their friends and countrymen, recounting their own marvellous escape from the cook's cauldron, and descanting on the unnatural appetites of the foe. Thousands deserted their homes and fled into the interior, as these fables were circulated among them; they only who had much at stake ventured to remain and offer opposition to the progress of Tarik and his "cannibal" followers. The apostate Julian advised Tarik to take advantage of the general panic and himself march upon Toledo, where all the wealthiest and most influential were probably then assembled in deliberation. He suggested, too, that the Moslem army should be divided and penetrate in different directions, accompanied by chosen men from Julian's own people, who would act as guides. The Moslem commander immediately acted upon this advice; but, before setting forth himself, he sent a freedman of the Caliph Walik, named Mugeyth Alrhimè (the Greek), with seven hundred horsemen to attack Cordova, then one of the principal Spanish towns; another division marched upon Malaga, and a third into Elvira, whilst he himself at the head of the main body proceeded to Toledo. Mugeyth took Cordova, after much and long resistance, by stratagem: it is said that his troop having bivouacked in a forest of lofty pines, close by the banks of a river near Cordova,

their scouts took prisoner a shepherd who gave much useful information. He told Mugeyth that all the chief inhabitants had quitted, leaving only a governor with four hundred horsemen and a few invalid soldiers and aged pensioners. He also said that the city walls were strong; but that there was a breach in them, the exact position of which he accurately described. No sooner, therefore, had night set in than the invaders mounted and proceeded to explore the fortifications; their enterprise was furthered by a storm of hail thunder and lightning, which enabled the Moslems to approach the walls;—not a word was exchanged amongst them, as, amidst that din and turmoil of the elements, they reached the borders of a stream, which, however, they forded without hesitation; and, on reaching the opposite banks, even through the dense haze of that stormy night they discerned, within thirty cubits of them, the walls of the citadel. The intense cold of the night, added to the frequent hail and rain and thunder, had induced the sentinels, under a false supposition of security (for who thought they could be astir in such a night?) to leave their posts; little knew they that these wild sons of the desert had imbibed their first lessons of cunning and treachery from the jackal and the hyena, whose surest nights of prey were nights like those, when the elements combined in their uproar to drown all other sounds. So crept the Moslems unheard to the very foot of the battlements—they brought scaling-ladders with them, but these were found to be useless, owing to the great height of the walls; so some of their party were sent back to fetch the shepherd, and when he was

brought he showed them the breach; still, however, the same difficulty existed; nor was this remedied until they accidentally discovered a fig-tree whose roots had fixed themselves firmly between the layers of mortar and stone; up the branches of this tree the strongest man from amongst them clambered, whence he succeeded in scaling the walls. Their leader now unfurled his turban, and tying a heavy stone to one end flung the other over the wall. About two hundred Moslems were thus enabled to clamber up. Mugeyth, with the remaining five hundred, remained in the saddle, and having instructed those who should gain the summit to make a sudden rush upon the main guard, the remainder rode round to the gate, which was presently thrown open from within, the Islams having overcome the guards; so that the troop entered and took possession of Cordova. Mugeyth and his squadron galloped towards the palace of the governor, but he had received intimation of their entry, and fled with his guards, four hundred in number, to a church situated in the west of the city, where they fortified themselves against the Moslems. As water was conveyed under ground to this church from a spring at the foot of a neighbouring mountain, and as all provisions had long since been hoarded here to serve in any similar case of emergency, the Spaniards were enabled for some time to hold out; but Mugeyth governed in the city and its environs. An absurd story is told by Arabian authors relative to the discovery by Mugeyth of this secret spring which supplied the besieged with water. It is said that the Moslem commander had a negro slave in his retinue,

a man of tried courage and fortitude; whom he directed to conceal himself in the neighbourhood of this church, where he might take note of the force within it, or perhaps capture one of them, who might be induced or compelled to give the requisite information. The church was situated in the midst of an orchard of pleasant fruit-trees, which, at this critical season, unluckily for the negro, were laden with delicious fruit; unable to withstand the temptation of certain fine peaches, he ascended the tree. He had not, however, been long there before the besieged inmates discovered his presence and made him a prisoner; but never before in their lives had they beheld a negro, neither had they been taught to believe that any part of the world produced a people so intensely black — their priests had, of course, often warned them against a spiritual enemy, whose skin was as black as his character; but who they could hardly suppose would venture so near to a church and its sanctified ground. They gazed upon their captive in affright and wonder; and finally concluding that he had been painted or dyed black, they carried the terrified negro towards the mountain-spring which supplied their conduit, and there they set to work, washing and scraping him with water and a hard brush, till the poor negro roared again with pain. At length they began to weary of their efforts, but still he was an object of the greatest curiosity and suspicion. After seven days' suffering, during which interval he was like to have been washed and scrubbed into a jelly, the negro managed to escape and return to the Islam camp, where he related his

sufferings and adventures, and revealed to Mugeyth the secret of the spring. Next day workmen were sent, and the supply of water was cut off from the church; so that the garrison had either to yield submissively, or to endure a fearful death. They refused to surrender, nothing could bend their obstinacy; thirst came, but even that they thought more tolerable than yielding to the yoke of a people whom they had been taught to regard as cannibals. At length the patience of the Islams was exhausted, and the besieged were burnt to death; being consumed with the church, which the besiegers had set in flames, and which they refused to quit, desiring that their ashes should be mingled with the ashes of the sacred edifice, rather than that they should be polluted and dishonoured by the yoke of the prophet's followers. This spot was ever afterwards known to the Islams as *Kenesatu-l-haraki*, or, *the church of the burning*. Some eastern historians differ as to the fate of these hapless men, who were looked upon by their fellow Christians in the light of martyrs; but all agree in saying that the garrison came to a violent end—all except the governor, who fled on a spirited black steed towards Toledo; but was pursued and taken by Mugeyth, who spared his life in the hopes of hereafter presenting him as a slave for the Caliph Waled; but the unhappy captive, as we shall hereafter see, fell a victim to party contention and jealousy before reaching the fair land of Palestine. Cordova being now entirely vanquished, Mugeyth assembled all the Hebrews in the town, trusting them rather than the Christians, towards whom they evinced an implacable hatred; and en-



trusted to them the charge of Cordova. This was a usual practice with all the Moslem generals; and the Jews, in their eagerness to lord it over a people whose creed they held in utter detestation, and whose oftentimes cruelly used slaves they had been, gladly encouraged the spread of the Islam arms; little thinking that in these stalwart and simple people of Arabia, they and their descendants would have yet to encounter the most formidable and pitiless persecutors of their own race; till finally—it is recorded, and as a fact not many years since occurring—the Turks, in the neighbourhood of Servia having to celebrate some religious festival during a period of severe famine, a procession moved from town to town, at every quarter of a mile sacrificing an ass and a Jew as a peace-offering. Meanwhile the division that had marched against Malaga got possession of that town without opposition; and the inhabitants fled with the utmost consternation to the nearest mountains, leaving a small garrison, and entrusting the care of the city as usual to the Jews. The Moslem forces united in Elvira; and laid siege to the city of Gharnattah, which place they took by storm. The army now marched against Tudmir, so called after its king Theodomir, a man of great courage and experience, who for a long time defended his states valiantly. The strong citadel of Orihuela was besieged; for some time the Moslems were set at defiance; at length, however, in an open pitched battle the troops of Theodomir were utterly defeated, many of his bravest generals slain, and he himself, with a few followers, escaped into the strongly fortified citadel. Here he resorted

to an artifice to secure for himself and his people a favourable treaty. Theodomir caused all the women to let loose their hair, and arming themselves with bows, to appear on the ramparts as though they were so many warriors equipped for battle, he himself with the remnant of his troops standing in front of them, so as the better to deceive the Moslems. In this stratagem he was successful; for the Islams greatly overrating his strength in soldiers, offered him terms of peace, which he acceded to, himself repairing in disguise to the Moslem camp in the character of a deputy to negotiate the terms. He first treated for the security of the inhabitants and then for his own; and when he had brought the invaders to accede to his terms, he made himself known to them, declaring that his motive for practising this deceit arose from his great love to his people, and a wish to secure for them the most favourable terms.

After this he guided the conquerors into the town, when, to their great chagrin, they discovered that, with the exception of a mere handful of soldiers, the inhabitants consisted solely of women and children; however, they faithfully observed the terms which they had concluded with Theodomir, so that his territories, by paying the stipulated tribute, were freed from the invasions of the Moslems, and delivered from the fearful sufferings and loss of life everywhere else entailed by warfare. A report of this transaction was sent to Tarik at Toledo; and leaving a small force in Theodomir's provinces, the remainder of the Islam troops marched upon Toledo to join the army there under Tarik, and assist, if it

were possible, in the subjugation of that place. Tarik, however, had no need for their assistance, having found, on arriving before Toledo, that the court and capital of the Gothic monarchy had been utterly deserted : the gates were wide open, but all its inhabitants had fled to a small town beyond the mountains, which the Arabs called *Medinatu-l-Mazidah*, or the city of the table, from the circumstance of a costly table having been found amongst the rich booty that fell to the lot of the Muslims. To this table, which is said to have been set with costly pearls and emeralds, we shall hereafter revert. Crossing the *Wada-l-Hijarah*, or, the stony river, Tarik and his followers crossed a range of mountains, which were named Fez-Tarik, after the Moslem commander, and supposed to be the pass leading from Old to New Castile, where the town of Buitrage is situated. In the principal church of Toledo, amongst other things that fell into the hands of the vanquishers, an oriental historian has enumerated five-and-twenty gold crowns, one for each of its Gothic monarchs ; which were discovered in the cathedral, wherein it was a usage, on the decease of each successive monarch, to deposit a golden diadem, with his name, age, and issue engraven upon it ; one-and-twenty copies of the Pentateuch, the gospel, and the psalms ; several other books, containing scientific instruction, treating on botany, geology, natural history, medicine, and astrology ; gold vases filled with precious stones, tunics of costly silk, besides a great deal of rich armoury and weapons. Almost all the Arabian historians refer with their usual love of the marvellous to the won-

derful table above alluded to ; but we may content ourselves by quoting from one of the most celebrated of these, by name Ibnu-Hadyan. This author says, "The celebrated table which Tarik found at Toledo, although attributed to Solomon, the son of David, and named after him, never belonged to that prophet, according to the barbarian authors who give it the following origin :—they say that, in the time of their ancient kings, it was customary for every man of estimation and wealth to bequeath, before dying, some of his property to the churches. From the money so collected, the priests caused tables to be made of pure gold and silver, besides thrones and huge stands for the priests, deacons, and attendants, to carry the gospels when taken out at public processions, or to ornament the altars on great festivals. By means of such bequests this table had been wrought at Toledo, and was afterwards emulously increased and embellished by each succeeding sovereign, the last trying always to surpass his predecessors in magnificence ; until it became the most costly and splendid jewel that ever was made for such a purpose, and acquired great celebrity. Its fabric was of pure gold, set with the most precious pearls rubies and emeralds ; around it was a row of each of those valuable gems, and the whole was, besides, covered with jewels, so large and bright that never did human eye behold anything comparable to it. Toledo being the capital of the kingdom, there was no jewel, however costly, no article, however precious, which could not be procured in it ; this and other causes concurred to ornament and embellish that inestimable object. When

the Moslems entered Toledo it was found on the great altar of their principal church ; and the fact of such a treasure having been discovered soon became public and notorious."

Tarik, aware of this notoriety, and fearful of the jealousy of his superiors, who would, doubtless, be eager to lay claim before the caliph to the honour of having gained possession of so rich a prize, very wisely resolved secretly to secure to himself the encomiums he assuredly merited ; accordingly, screwing off one of the legs of the table, which were all of an unique and chaste pattern, he substituted one made of simple gold ; and when questioned by his immediate superior as to the missing leg, he persisted that he had found the table with that deficit ; but, as will be hereafter seen, in the presence of the caliph he told a very different story.

## CHAPTER XVII.

Jealousy of Musa Eben Nosseyr—His injustice to Tarik—Siege and capture of Seville—Siege of Merida—Stratagem of Musa—The city surrenders—Revolt suppressed—Tarik imprisoned—Further conquests of the Moslems—Return of the Moslem army to Syria—Quarrel between Musa and Mugeyth—Accession of Suleyman—Disgrace and imprisonment of Musa—His death and character—Abdul Azis—His assassination—Ayub Eben Habeeb al Hakmi—Wise government of the Caliph—Remarks on the rapid progress of the Moslems.

THE same eastern author, Ibun Hadyan, informs us that when Tarik hastened to communicate the glad tidings of his success to his master, Musa Eben Nosseyr, the latter, in lieu of receiving the same with every demonstration of joy and gratitude, was seized with jealousy against his faithful and courageous freedman, whom he considered to have audaciously outstripped the limits of conquest originally assigned to him or intended for him, and reaped laurels that would have better graced his own brow, or that of some of his aspiring sons—fearful also that Tarik should add fresh jewels to his already brilliant diadem of victory, Musa hastened to reply to the intelligence of his marvellously successful exploits, by returning him a severe reprimand for what he was pleased to term his injudicious temerity ; accompanying this dispatch with a strict injunction not to penetrate any further

into Spain, until Musa himself should be able to head the expedition. This reproof was not likely at such a moment to check the victorious career of the impetuous Tarik; on the contrary, spurred on by Musa's injustice, he swept all before him with a reckless bravery that astounded his followers as much as it terrified the Spaniards; and though Musa, having left one of his sons regent at Carwhan hastened with all speed into Spain, accompanied by the others, he found Tarik had penetrated far into the interior, laden with accumulated triumphs. Musa landed in Spain in the autumn of the ninetyeth year of the Hegira, A.D. 712, and proceeded to Algesiras at the head of his own body of troops; where, encountering some of Julian's people who proffered their services as guides, he resolved to mark out for himself a different route of conquest to that pursued by Tarik, and consequently skirted the coast of Sidonia. After a few unimportant engagements he marched upon Seville, the largest, and for its edifices and its antiquities, the most important city of Andalusia—Seville, which, till the seat of government was transferred to Toledo, had been the capital of Spain. For some time the city resisted the attacks of Musa; but finally it was overcome, and the inhabitants fled to Beza. Leaving Seville as usual under the charge of the principal Jew residents, strengthened by a small garrison from his own troops, the Arab general marched upon Merida, a city of considerable size and strength, and the inhabitants repulsed the Moslems repeatedly with considerable loss. At length, Musa caused a war engine to be constructed, which was brought under cover to batter

one of the towers; but even when they had made a breach they discovered that this was only one of a series of strongly fortified walls undermined. Here the Moslem troops were suddenly assailed by the Spaniards, who put nearly the whole of them to the sword. After this failure, Musa offered to treat for terms of peace and a deputation of the principal inhabitants of the city accordingly visited the Islam general at his quarters; where they found in their adversary a venerable old Arab, with snowy locks and beard that reached nearly to his waist. On this first interview nothing could be decided; but on the succeeding one, they were astonished to find the snowy beard and locks of Musa metamorphosed by some to them unaccountable process, into a blood-red hue—the Islam having used the common Arabian dye *henné*, on purpose to work upon the superstition of the Spaniards. Again no satisfactory terms could be ratified; so the Spaniards came back for the third time on the morrow, when they saw the general with beard and locks of a jet black hue; hastening back to their fellow townsmen, they gave them to understand that it was madness to hold out against a nation of wizards, who changed their appearance even as the fancy seized them. Hearing this, the people at once submitted to the terms imposed by the invaders, which were to the following effect:—viz., that the property of all citizens slain, as well as that belonging to those who had fled into Galicia, should be confiscated to the Moslems; but that all others should be left in undisturbed possession of their rights. So Merida surrendered to the Moslem yoke in the month



of October, 712 A.D., the ninetieth year of the Hegira. But whilst Musa had been occupied in this conquest, the people of Seville, Beza, and Niebla, had revolted, massacring about eighty men of the Moslem garrison at Seville; in consequence of which Abdul Azis, the son of Musa, was sent with troops to suppress the revolt. This service he speedily accomplished; slaughtering vast numbers of the inhabitants of the rebellious cities, and finally establishing the head-quarters of the Moslem forces at Seville, which was now considered the capital of the Mahomedan provinces in Spain. After quiet was established in these parts, Musa proceeded to Toledo; and Tarik, hearing of the approach of his master and commander, went forth, attended by his chief officers and guards of honour, to welcome the Moslem commander. Musa, however, on meeting his brave freedman, is said to have given way to a violent burst of passion. Infuriated with spleen and jealousy he, in the presence of the assembled forces, struck Tarik with his riding-whip, and upbraided him severely for disobeying his strict injunctions. Tarik accompanied Musa to Toledo; where they had no sooner arrived than he was commanded to produce all the spoil taken from the enemy, and, above all, the famous table before alluded to. On this being brought into the presence of the Arabian general, he immediately missed, and asked for, the missing leg. In answer to this, Tarik assured Musa that the table was as he had found it, and so the matter rested for the time being; but Tarik was kept in close confinement, and would in all probability have died in prison, had not his

friends communicated with the caliph; who highly indignant at the iniquitous conduct of Musa, sent a special messenger to that general, ordering the instant release of Tarik, and furthermore that he should be replaced in his command.

After this, they appear to have been on friendly terms again, uniting their forces for further conquests in Spain. Taking the high road to Arragon, they marched upon Saragossa, subduing it and the neighbouring districts, and so continued to penetrate far into the country; Tarik leading the van and Musa bringing up the rear-guard, confirming the stipulations entered into with conquered cities by his lieutenant who preceded him. When the whole of that country had been subdued, the Moslems were divided in opinion; the more wary desiring to retrace their steps, the reckless to push their victories further into the continent of Europe. Musa, at the head of these latter, is said to have invaded France; accumulating vast spoil and bringing under tribute several wealthy cities, until they came to the banks of the Rhone, which, according to Arabian writers, was the furthest limit of their invasions into the countries of the Franks. The troops which Tarik led to Andalusia are said also to have subdued and made themselves masters of Barcelona, Narbonne, Avignon, and Lyons. Musa is said to have formed the desperate resolve of marching his troops through Europe, until he should again reach the territories of the caliph; but this reaching the ears of Waled, that caliph immediately summoned Musa to Syria, fearful lest his plan, if communicated to the troops, might lead to their utter destruction. Musa,

however, evinced some reluctance to quit the fair country where his name and his fame were great ; nor was it until a second messenger arrived with a more summary order, that he complied with the caliph's wishes ; the latter, however, had instructions to see the general fairly on the road to Syria ; so Musa, accompanied by Tarik, Mugeyth, El Rummi, and the last messengers, and such of the troops as wished to return to their country, quitted Spain, and in due course reached the seat of the caliphate.

It is said that, on the journey towards Syria, Musa asked Mugeyth to deliver into his keeping the Gothic nobleman, governor of Cordova, whom, it will be recollected, the latter captured at the siege of that city : but to this Mugeyth refused compliance ; saying that nobody but himself should present him to the caliph, who was his patron and master, and to whom alone he would make homage of his prisoner. Upon this Musa sprung upon the Goth and tore him out of the hands of Mugeyth ; but some of his friends warning him that if he arrived at court, the rightful owner would undoubtedly claim the Gothic prisoner in the caliph's presence, and that the latter would as undoubtedly acknowledge the claim, Musa very unjustly caused the unhappy man to be immediately beheaded, which act of injustice so enraged Mugeyth that, from that moment, he conceived an implacable hatred for Musa, and mainly contributed to his ultimate overthrow and downfall. When Musa reached Damascus the caliph, Waled, was lying at the point of death ; Suleyman, the heir presumptive to the caliphate, requested him to delay his entry into Damascus until

his brother was dead and himself succeeded to the throne, that the rich spoils brought from Spain might grace his inauguration and gain popularity amongst the Syrians, who had never before witnessed such an accumulation of spoil; but Musa refused to comply with Suleyman's request, and thereby incurred the inevitable displeasure of Suleyman, who, on coming into power a week after Musa's return, in the year of the Hegira 92, A.D. 714, caused Musa to be imprisoned and heavily fined, under the plea of his having defrauded the government. What also contributed to his disgrace was the fact of Tarik confounding him, in the presence of the caliph, by producing the missing leg of the celebrated table before alluded to, and so clearly proving that he, not Musa, had captured Toledo. However, after a time, Musa was released, and in some measure restored to royal favour; though he never recovered his former position, and was reduced to perfect beggary by the heavy fine levied on him. He is said to have died miserably in an Arab hut in the desert; where he had for some months subsisted entirely upon the charity of the roving tribes.—A further illustration this, of the instability of wealth and dignity even at that early period of the Moslem sway; for assuredly no general had ever carved out for himself clearer title to honourable independence; though his character was blemished by acts of atrocious cruelty and wrong, like that of most among the early Arabian conquerors. As a closing anecdote to the life of this extraordinary man, we may quote his opinion on the different nations he had been brought in contact with

during his military career. Ibnu-Khallekan and others assert that the caliph once asked Musa what he had observed in his wars and his dealings with infidels:—"Tell me," said he, "about the Greeks, what sort of people are they?" "They are," replied Musa, "lions behind the walls of their cities, eagles upon their horses, and women in their vessels. Whenever they see an opportunity they seize it immediately; but if they are vanquished they fly to the tops of their mountains." "And the Berbers?" "They," replied Musa, "are the people who most resemble the Arabs in activity, strength, courage, and endurance, love of war, and hospitality; only that they are the most treacherous of men, holding no faith, and keeping no word." "Tell me about the Goths," said the caliph. "They," replied Musa, "are lords, living in luxury and abundance, but champions who do not turn their backs upon the enemy." "And the Franks, what are they?" "They," replied Musa, "are people of great courage and enterprise, their numbers are considerable, and they are amply provided with military weapons and stores."

The death of Musa brings us down to the 93d year of the Hegira, A.D. 715.

Abdul-Azis, the son of Musa, was left governor of the Moslem possessions in Spain during the absence of his father. This prince summoned together the scattered forces of Islam; fortifying the frontiers of their possessions and consolidating Mahometan power, besides extending the limits of its influence by the conquest of several important cities and fortresses which had escaped the notice of his father and of Tarik. But the government of Abdul-Azis,

though brilliantly successful and distinguished for upright justice, was of very short duration; he having been assassinated by some of his own followers only a few months prior to his father's death, in the second year of his administration. Arabian authors concur in attributing this act of violence to the secret agency of the Caliph Suleyman; who, as has been already seen, bore no friendly will towards Musa or his family; and who, for the gratification of private revenge, after having ruined the father, deprived him of that object of Musa's affections whereon his whole love and only hopes were concentrated—even carrying his revenge beyond the grave; for, when the head of the unhappy Abdul-Azis was brought to Damascus, Suleyman summoned the wretched father into his presence, and producing it, demanded of him if he knew whose head it was? "Yes;" replied the distracted old man, "it is the head of one who fasted and said his prayers, and may the curse of Allah alight on it if his assassin is a better man than he was." Herein is clearly perceptible that thirst for bloodshed and rapine which has been so peculiar to the history of Mahometan rulers and their subordinates, even from the close of the first century of the Hegira, through many succeeding years.

Abdul-Azis was succeeded in the government of the Moslem possessions in Spain by Ayub-Eben-Habeeb-Al-Hakmi, a nephew of Musa's; who was unanimously chosen by the army, and who removed the seat of Islam government from Seville to Cordova. Ayub, however, was only a provisional governor; for so soon as news of the assassination of

Abdul-Azis reached Mahomet-Eben-Yezid, then governor of Islam Africa, this latter dispatched Al-Horr-Eben-Abdul-Rahman, who divested Ayub of the command, and remained governor of Mahometan Spain for the period of two years and eight months, until he himself was replaced by Assan-Eben-Malek-Alkhanlani, who, according to the Arabian historian, Arrazi, arrived at the seat of his government about August, 717, in the year of the Hegira 95, bringing in his suite some of the principal Arabian families of Africa, who became in after years the stock from which sprung the various branches of Andalusian nobility.

During the government of Assan, acting under the instructions of the caliph, a learned Arabian historian was deputed to compose a topographical description of the countries in Moslem Spain then under their sway; for the caliph was anxious to acquire a knowledge of the countries conquered by Mahometan arms, and so the better to estimate their resources; for it was his resolved purpose to cause these Moslems as speedily as possible to evacuate their possessions in Spain; fearing lest they should be exposed to imminent danger in a country so distant from their birth-place, and separated as they were from the people of their own religion and men who spoke their mother tongue. This anxiety evinced on the part of the caliph for the welfare of his people, whose interest he tended with a paternal eye, however simple and unimportant to the casual reader, bears upon it the stamp of that unvarying and virtuous simplicity which has characterized the natives of Arabia and Palestine from the patriarchal

days when Jacob's mother pictured to herself every imaginable evil in the absence of her favourite son, though separated from her by only a few days' journey. Through the earlier triumphs of Islam, and even to the present date, a journey causing only a few days' separation is thought and wept over long ere it is undertaken ; accompanied by prayers and interjections uttered by friends—such as led Paul to the sea-side when he embarked at Tyre and was welcomed back with joyful demonstrations. Such were the feelings that urged the caliph to meditate the recall of his people from distant Andalusia. "Would to God," exclaims Ibnu-Hayyan, "that Assan had lived long enough to complete the task entrusted to his care!—but it was otherwise ordained!" Evidently the Arabian historian here laments the non-evacuation of the Islam possessions in Spain, which would have saved their ultimate expulsion from that country. This brings us near the conclusion of the first century of the Mahometan Hegira, equivalent to the year 718 of the Christian era ; and when we look back over the brief space of one century, and remember how these people had already become the terror of more than half the world, we are forced to acknowledge that the energies of the mind, when stirred up into activity, are far more effective than the co-operation of powerful bodies of men. Only one hundred years had gone by when Mahomet, alone, in the deep wilds of Arabia, had formed his scheme of fanaticism, and devised the happy scheme of everlasting enjoyment and indulgence held forth in this world, and to be realized in the next by the disciples of his faith : death was to them only the



portal of infinite pleasure; and the more boldly they faced it, the larger share were they entitled to of those celestial delights; at the same time that no restraint was placed on the innate appetites of man, but the senses were to be gratified with impunity. It is no longer therefore surprising to find that thousands of uneducated but courageous men flocked to the prophet's standard—they were led on as were the Israelites of old, by the inspiring lesson that life and death were equally a state of beatification for true disciples and followers.

Arabia and Africa, India, and even parts of Spain, can be only compared to one vast prairie, such as we read of in America. The Koran was the torch of fanatical fire which spread over this wide field with greater rapidity than ever spread the flames in those boundless conflagrations; and, as the terrified war-horse rushes over the burning prairie, so fled the affrighted nations before the swords of Islamism, till the prophet's standard was reared over the soil of Spain.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

Assan defeated and slain—Succeeded by Abdul-Rahman—Belay and his followers—Alphonso—Revolt of the Berbers—Incidents of the contest—Successes of the Berbers—They are ultimately defeated—Civil wars of the Moslems—Death of Balj—Abul-Khattar—Taken prisoner—Deposed—The Princess Sarah—List of Moslem governors—The Caliph Asseffah—Abdul-Rahman—Anecdote related by him—His narrow escape—Death of his brother.

THE opening of the second century of the Hegira found the Moslem power firmly established in Spain, and a temporary peace reigned everywhere within their Spanish possessions. This, however, was not destined to be of long duration. Assan, invading the territory of the Franks, was surrounded by overwhelming numbers; and he and the whole of his followers were literally cut to pieces; not one surviving to carry the tidings to their companions in arms. The spot where this occurred has been designated by Arabian historians as Balattush-Shohada, meaning the pavement of the martyrs. It is also believed amongst "the faithful," that the voice of an invisible muezzin is there heard—even to the present day—announcing the hours of prayer.

Assan was succeeded by Abdul-Rahman, who governed in Spain eight years; being succeeded in the year 110 of the Hegira by Ibnu-Bashkuwal.

There appears however to have been an inter-regnum. One Aubasah held the administration, during whose government, says Ibnu-Hayyan, "A despicable barbarian, named Belay (meaning thereby, the courageous Pelayo), rose in the land of Galicia; and, having reproached his countrymen for their ignominious dependence and cowardly flight, began to stir them up to revenge past wrongs and to expel the Moslems from the land of their fathers; from that moment the Christians of Andalus began to resist the attacks of the Moslems upon such districts as still remained in their possession, and to defend their wives and daughters; for, until then, they had shown no inclination to do either. The commencement of the rebellion happened thus:— There remained no city, town, or village in Galicia, but what was in the hands of the Moslems, with the exception of a steep mountain, on which this Pelayo took refuge, with a handful of men. There his followers went on, perishing through hunger; until their numbers were reduced to about thirty men and ten women; having no other food for their support saving the honey gathered in the crevices of the rocks, which they themselves inhabited like so many bees. However, Pelayo and his men fortified themselves by degrees in the passes of the mountain, until the Moslems were made acquainted with their preparations; but, perceiving how few they were, had allowed them to gather strength, saying, "What are thirty barbarians perched upon a rock? they must inevitably die." And would to God, proceeds the chronicler, they had rather extinguished at once the sparks of a fire which was destined to consume the whole of

the dominions of Islam in those parts! for the contempt in which the Moslems of those days held that mountain, and the few wretched beings who took refuge upon it, proved in aftertime the main cause of the numerous conquests which the posterity of that same Pelayo were enabled to make in the territories of the Moslems, and which have so much increased, that the enemy of God has reduced many populous cities; and that, at the moment I write, the magnificent city of Cordova, the splendid court of the caliphs of the illustrious house of Ommyah, has fallen into the hands of the infidels." So much for our Arabian authors—who, by their invectives against Christianity, have only so much the more clearly shown the fulfilment of prophecy, and borne their reluctant witness to that heroism, slumbering in the breast of the Spanish nation, which, when once fanned into a flame, could only be influenced by the spreading stream of civilization, the source whereof was in the fountain head of pure religion.

Though Pelayo died before the day-dream of his life was realized, he had a worthy successor in Alphonso, the progenitor of all the Christian kings known by his name. Much has been written about the Moslem invasion of Spain. Irving has immortalized Granada: and many who do not enter into the subject are led away with the idea that Spain long groaned under the fetters of the Mahometan rule; but in this, if we may be guided by their own authorities, they are egregiously mistaken. Musa's slave, Tarik, only landed in Spain in the year of the Hegira 89; so that, within twenty years, their possessions began to be disputed by the rightful

owners of the soil. Neither was this all—for their own immediate people broke out into civil discord; and the Berbers, who had been converted to the Moslem faith, revolted against the authority of the caliphate, both in Africa and in Spain. This revolt occurred during the caliphate of Hisham-Eben-Abdul-Malek, who succeeded his brother Yezid in the year 105 of the Hegira. A large force was immediately dispatched to quell the disturbances in Africa, under Kolthum-Eben-Iyadh-Al-Kusheyri; but this latter and his troops were totally defeated and routed by the Berbers, under a general named Meysarah. Kolthum escaped to Ceuta; where, with a few followers, he shut himself up in a fortress. News, meanwhile, of this terrible disaster having reached the caliph in Syria, he speedily dispatched another army, under Houdhalah-Eben-Sefwan; who, after several fierce engagements, succeeded in subduing the Berbers. Meanwhile Kolthum, with the relics of the first Syrian army, were closely besieged in Ceuta by the Berbers, till they were reduced to the utmost straits for want of provisions, and sent to implore the succour of their brethren, the Moslems of Andalus; but Abdul-Malek-Eben-Kattan, who was then governor of the Moslem possessions in Spain, from some private motives of jealousy inhumanly refused to succour his countrymen in distress; and there is little doubt but that they would have been starved into submission, had not the danger of their position been bruited over Andalus; exciting the sympathies of a few bold and determined Moslems, who, despite every impediment, hastened to the assistance of the besieged,

and succeeded in supplying them with provisions. Foremost amongst these was one Zeyyad-Eben-Amru-Al-Lakhmi, whose zeal on behalf of his starving countrymen brought down upon his head the vengeance of Eben-Kattan, the governor before referred to, who, after ordering Zeyyad to receive seven hundred lashes, and his eyes to be put out, beheaded and crucified him; then, adding insult to injury, caused a dog to be hung at his left side.

The Berbers of Andalus, upon hearing of the first successes of their brethren in Africa, shook off allegiance to the Islam governor of Spain; and choosing for themselves a general, attacked and defeated the Arabs in several engagements. This so alarmed Eben-Kattan, that he wrote off to Kolthum and his followers, begging of them to come and help him in defending Cordova against the insurgents. Kolthum was dead before this letter reached Ceuta; but his nephew, Balj, opened the communication, and seeing no hope of promotion or advantage for himself in Africa, readily accepted the offer made to his deceased uncle, and marched with the Syrian auxiliaries to the assistance of Eben-Kattan. He was received with the greatest courtesy, and every conceivable favour shown to them. It was however an understood thing that so soon as these combined forces should have completed the defeat of the Berbers, Balj and his Syrian followers were to return to Africa. The Syrian troops were commanded by Eben-Kattan's two sons; and after several desperate engagements, they succeeded in routing the Berbers, pursuing them with great slaughter till they had expelled them from the

frontiers of the Moslem possessions in Spain. Balj and his followers were too elated to regard their engagement, and instead of retiring into Africa as they had bound themselves to do, they reminded Eben-Kattan of the injuries which they had experienced at his hands whilst hopelessly besieged in the fortress of Ceuta; and finally breaking out into open rebellion, displaced Kattan, and proclaimed Balj his successor. This latter, with praiseworthy sympathy for the years and sufferings of his predecessor, endeavoured to save Kattan from the vengeance of his infuriated followers; but the sense of their recent sufferings at Ceuta was yet too fresh in their minds; and though Eben-Kattan is said to have been ninety years old when he was deposed, they insisted upon his being beheaded and then crucified, to revenge themselves for the atrocious cruelty that he had inflicted on Zeyyad, for rescuing them from starvation in the hour of need. Balj had soon to contend against the two sons of Kattan; who, assisted by a horde of malcontents, constituting a considerable army, marched upon Cordova. Balj gave them battle; and though successful in routing them, he did not survive to enjoy his triumph; having been mortally wounded during the engagement, and dying of his wounds two days after the battle, in the year of the Hegira 120, A.D. 742. To him succeeded Thalebah-Eben-Salamah-Al-Amali, who, like the rest of the Arabs, had accompanied and fought with Balj from Damascus, and was with them called Shamiun, or the people of Sham. Ibnu Khaldun says that this Thalebah governed for two years, during which period the

discontented Arabs and Berbers settled in Andalus revolted against his authority, and besieged him in Merida, where he had taken refuge ; but the rebels, counting too much upon their own resources, and the privations of those they besieged, grew lax in their vigilance, and gave Thalebah opportunity of making a sally, and, surprising and defeating them with considerable slaughter. Next day his successor arrived from Africa, and Thalebah returned to the East, where he attached himself to the suite of Merwan-Eben-Mahomet. His successor, Abul-Khattar, who is described as a brave and generous man, finding that settlers from Syria were numerous in Cordova, spread them over the possessions in Spain ; giving Elvira and the surrounding country to the people of Damascus, who called it Sham ; whilst those from Homs (Emessa) settled at Seville, also by them designated Homs. The Egyptians had Tudmir, which, in imitation of other settlers, they called after their own country, II Messrh.

According to Ibnu-Hayyan, Abul-Khattar was a just governor and an excellent scholar ; but evincing too great partiality to the people of his own tribe, he incurred the displeasure of the other Arabs, and occasioned a revolt, when, after a severely-contested engagement, the rebels defeated his troops and took him prisoner, in the year of the Hegira 123, A.D. 745. At this period civil war was raging in Africa, and the empire of the Ben Ommyah began to decay in the East, and the caliphs of that dynasty were latterly too much occupied with domestic troubles and revolts to pay much attention to the state of their foreign dependencies ; the Moslem posses-



sions in Spain assumed also a constitution of their own, which in a manner threatened to sever them from all allegiance to the eastern caliphate.

Abul-Khattar succeeded in escaping from prison through the assistance of a friend, by name Abdur-Rahman-Eben-Hossan-Al-Kelbi (literally the son of Hossan, the dog), and, no sooner did the news of his escape into the western provinces get bruited about, than he was joined by the Yemeni Arabs, his own peculiar tribe, and with their assistance he marched upon Cordova; but the attack was unsuccessful, and Abul-Khattar was ultimately deposed and replaced by Thuabah-Eben-Salamah in the government of Spain.

It was during the government of this Abul-Khattar that some descendants of King Wittiza for the first time visited Syria; the Princess Sarah and her two younger brothers had been wronged by an uncle named Artabash, who had seized upon their estates, contrary to the stipulations entered into between the sons of Wittiza and Tarik when King Roderic was betrayed into the hands of the Moslems. Sarah finding justice to be tardy in Spain at once embarked with her brothers at Seville, and after a tedious and perilous voyage, landed at Ascalon between Jaffa and Gaza, and proceeded by land to the court of the Caliph Hisham at Damascus. She implored this sultan to issue the requisite orders for the reinstatement of herself and brothers in all the lands belonging to their father; to this Hisham readily consented, being greatly enamoured with the appearance and courage of the fair Spanish princess; and before quitting Syria he married her

to one of his nobles, named Isa-Eben-Ibrahim, who accompanied her back to Spain, where they lived in great affluence, and after whose death she was eventually married to a Moorish prince, Eben-Omar-Eben-Said.

Thuabab was succeeded by one Yusuf, whose other names would occupy a couple of pages; we give a few for experiment's sake—he was Eben-Abdur-Rhaman-Eben-Habeeb-Eben-Abi-Obeydah-Eben-Okbah-Eben-Nafi-Al-Fehri-All, which is a species of genealogical chronology very similar in style to that often met with in the Old Testament. This Yusuf originally came from Cairwan, and was the last governor of Spain; it is said that his government, which was chequered with many troubles and revolts, extended from 125 to 133 of the Hegira, or from A.D. 747 to 755; at this latter date a scion of the illustrious house of Ommyah, which had been in the possession of the caliphate for ninety years, arrived in Andalus, and there successfully founded an empire for his posterity, constituting an independent caliphate.

The following is a list of the Moslem governors dependent upon and appointed either by the Muli of Africa or the eastern caliphs, who held sway in Spain from the time of its subjugation:—

1st, Tarik.

2nd, Musa-Eben-Nosseyr.

3rd, Abdul-Azis-Eben-Musa.

4th, Ayub-Eben-Habeeb-Al-Akmi.

5th, Al-Horr-Eben-Abdir-Rahman, &c.

6th, Assam-Eben-Malek-Al-Khaulani.

7th, Abdur-Rahman-Eben-Abdullah-Ab-Ghafeki.

- 8th, Ambasah-Eben-Sohaym-Al-Kelbi.
- 9th, Ozrah-Eben-Abdullah-Al-Fehri.
- 10th, Yahaya-Eben-Salmah-Al-Kelbi.
- 11th, Othman-Eben-Abi-Nesah-Al-Khathami.
- 12th, Mahomet-Eben-Abdullah-Al-Ashjai.
- 13th, Abdul-Malek-Eben-Kattan-Al-Fehri.
- 14th, Balj-Eben-Beshr-Eben-Iyadh-Al-Kusheyri.
- 15th, Thalebah-Eben-Salamah-Ab-Jodhami.
- 16th, Thuabah-Eben-Salamah-Ab-Jodhami.
- 17th, Yusuf-Eben-Abdur-Rahman-Al-Fehri.

Some years before the overthrow of Yusuf, the house of Ommyah had been dislodged from the caliphate in the East, and the last prince of that line, the Caliph Merwan-Eben-Mahomet-Aljadi, had been encountered and slain in battle by Abul-Abbas-Abdullah, surnamed Asseffah, or the shedder of blood; this occurred in the year of the Hegira 129, when Asseffah was proclaimed caliph at Cufa; everywhere the unfortunate members of the proscribed family were seized and put to death, and but few escaped the search made by the emissaries of Asseffah in every province of the empire; Abdur-Rahman, a son of Moawyah and grandson of the Caliph Hisham-Eben-Abdul-Malek, was almost the only prince of that house who succeeded in evading the spies of Asseffah. He eventually escaped into Africa, and thence proceeded to Spain; where he was proclaimed first independent caliph of the Mahometan possessions in that country, under the title of Abdul-Rahman, the first of the house of Beni Ommyah in Spain.

It is said of this prince, that he related the following anecdote of his flight, when he travelled

night and day with his son and family, till he reached the banks of the Euphrates; where he hoped to conceal himself in a neighbouring forest, until he could make his flight into Africa:—"As I was on a certain day sitting under cover of my tent to shelter myself from the rain which fell heavily, watching my eldest son, Suleyman, then about four years old, who was playing in front of it, I saw him suddenly enter the door, crying violently, and soon after he ran towards me, and clung to my bosom for protection. Not knowing what he meant, I pushed him away; but the child clung still more to me, as one seized with violent fear; and began uttering such exclamations as children are wont when they are frightened. I then left the tent, that I might see what caused his fear; and lo, I saw the whole village in confusion, and the inhabitants running to and fro. I went a little further on, and saw the black banners of the Abbassides fluttering in the wind. At sight of these, a younger brother of mine, who had also rushed out of the tent, and was with me at the time, began to fly at the top of his speed, saying, 'Away, away with thee, O brother, for yonder black banners are the banners of the sons of Abbas!' Hearing this, I hastily grasped some dinars, which I had just at hand, and fled precipitately out of the village with my child and younger brother,—taking care to apprise my sisters of my departure, and of the road we intended to take, and bidding them join us at a spot which I named, together with my freedman Bedr, who was the bearer of my message. In this manner we escaped from our pursuers, and halted at some distance

from the village. Scarcely had we left our tent, when it was surrounded by a body of cavalry; who closely searched every corner, but finding no one inside, they withdrew, and soon after left the village. In the meantime Bedr joined us, bringing with him a man well acquainted with the course of the Euphrates, and its banks, to act as our guide, whom I directed to purchase for us horses and the articles requisite for our journey. It happened, however, that this man was a spy of our enemies, who wished only to entrap us; for scarcely had we been a few minutes under his guidance, when we again saw the horsemen in full pursuit. We then used our greatest speed; and God permitted that we should reach before them the banks of the Euphrates, into the which we at once plunged, the horsemen arriving immediately after. When our pursuers saw this, they began to cry out to us, 'Return hither, no harm shall be done unto you:' but we dashed into the midst of the current. Being an excellent swimmer, I took charge of my son; whilst my servant Bedr helped my younger brother. When in the middle of the stream, my brother felt his strength fail him, and he was seized with the fear of death. Seeing his danger, I returned to him, to give him courage, and to induce him to exert himself; but, as I approached, I saw him make for the bank—no doubt persuaded by the treacherous words of our enemies; and I then cried to him, 'O brother, come to me! come to me!' but the promise that his life would be spared, and the fear of being drowned, made him hasten to the shore. I succeeded in crossing the

Euphrates, and one of my pursuers seemed at one time inclined to leap into the river, and swim after me; but he was dissuaded by his comrades. No sooner had I set foot on shore than I looked anxiously about for my brother, whom I saw firmly grasped in the hands of the soldiers. He was only a lad of thirteen years old, yet these villains dragged their victim to the river side, and there in my presence beheaded him, leaving the trunk on the spot, and marching away with the head. As may be imagined, the sight of this catastrophe filled me with horror, and lent wings to my flight."

What farther difficulties and dangers this prince had to encounter before reaching Spain, will be seen in the subsequent chapter.

## CHAPTER XIX.

Further adventures of Abdul-Rahman—Yusuf defeated by him—Yusuf beheaded—Victory near Seville—The merchant's strange mission—The Caliph Al-Mansur—Revolt—Heroism of the Governor of Seville—Execution of Abdul-Rahman's nephew—Civil dissensions—Revolt of the Spaniards—Magnificence of Cordova—Gigantic aqueduct and garden—Splendid palace—The Caliph patronizes literature—Death of Abdul-Rahman—Succeeded by Hisham—The astrologer's prediction—The Caliph's wise government—Suleyman and Abdallah revolt—Hisham's severity to the Christians.

AFTER this fearful adventure Abdul-Rahman, according to Ibnu-Hayyan, fled the country with the utmost speed, and marched forward until he arrived in Eastern Africa, whither his sister and his two servants had preceded him, provided with money and jewels for their sustenance ; other relatives and partisans of the proscribed family had likewise taken refuge in the same province, which was governed by a namesake of Abdul-Rahman, appointed by the rival house of Beni Abbas ; but this governor was a weak and superstitious man. Fortunately for the fugitive prince, he was greatly influenced by an Hebrew soothsayer, who had once been attached to the house of Ommyah, and who, not ungrateful for past kindnesses, interceded on behalf of Abdul-Rahman ; so that, whilst almost all the other branches of the family were exterminated, he alone succeeded in escaping.

After the lapse of some years, Abdul-Rahman succeeded in gaining a party both in Spain and Africa; and his success in the former country is said to have been partly attributable to his very opportune arrival there at a moment when Yusuf, the last governor, had excited the displeasure of his immediate followers by an atrocious act of treachery. Contrary to his public declaration, he had caused two noblemen to be executed, who had been concerned in some rebellion, but who were much esteemed by the Moslem troops, and were descended from a very illustrious Islam family; the result was, that Yusuf next morning found himself deserted by his troops, being surrounded by only a few confidential friends. After a lengthened and severe contest, Yusuf was entirely routed, and Abdul-Rahman proclaimed first caliph of Spain. No sooner was this prince firmly seated upon his throne than he sent emissaries to Syria and Egypt and other Mahometan countries, to endeavour to find out any surviving relatives of his family, and to invite them to come and settle in Spain; and many adherents of the proscribed family, who had heretofore been lurking in secret hiding-places, arrived in Andalusia, and were protected by the new caliph. After the defeat of Yusuf a treaty was concluded between himself and Abdul-Rahman the First, by which the latter was permitted to reside at Cordova; but it was not long before he broke through the stipulations of this compact; for, in the year 136 of the Hegira, A.D. 758, he plotted a revolution, which, being discovered in time, led to the destruction of his partisans; and Yusuf himself having taken refuge in a village



was detected by the Ansarii chief, beheaded, and his head sent as a trophy to the caliph; who caused it to be nailed under the arch of a bridge, that thus publicly exposed to view it might serve to intimidate all factious parties. The caliph enjoyed a short interval of peace, when in the year 141 of the Hegira, A.D. 763, Al-Ala-Eben-Mughith-Al-Yahssobi sailed from Eastern Africa with the intention of re-establishing the Ben Abbasi power in Spain, and of planting their black banners in Andalusia. Al-Ala first landed with a small force on the western coast, taking possession of and fortifying Beja; here he was soon surrounded by a considerable force, partisans of the Eastern caliphs, who speedily commenced to pillage and distress the adherents of the house of Ben Ommayah; but no sooner was the caliph apprized of the intentions of the invaders than he marched at the head of a powerful army, and overtaking Al-Ala in the neighbourhood of Seville, a fierce battle ensued, which terminated however in the utter defeat of the invaders, and the capture of Al-Ala and all his principal officers; these Abdul-Rahman caused immediately to be beheaded, and labels to be suspended from their ears, bearing the names of the deceased and the date and manner of their death: the heads were then carefully packed in sealed sacks; which, with the black banners of the house of Abbas, were entrusted to the charge of a wealthy merchant, who was ordered on pain of being treated in the like manner himself to convey them to Mecca, and there deposit them in certain public places indicated at a certain period. The merchant did as he was ordered,

though his camel-drivers, the friends at whose house he lodged on the way, and the captain of the barque which he had engaged from Suez, were in all likelihood ignorant of the nature of his cargo. He must, however, have been a man of great nerve and courage ; for, besides the difficulties already encountered, he no sooner arrived at Mecca than, finding that the Arabian caliph, Abu-Jafar-Al-Mansur (by whose orders the expedition into Spain had been undertaken), was there also, having arrived on a pilgrimage, he had the hardihood to deposit the sacks at the door of the caliph's tent, who no sooner discovered them than he had them carefully ripped open, when, lo ! the first thing that tumbled out was the head of his trusty servant Mughith. "Allah be praised !" exclaimed the startled caliph, "for placing the sea between me and that demon Abdul-Rahman."

From this period, Al-Mansur is said to have cherished a deadly hate against the caliph in Spain ; and never permitted an opportunity to escape of annoying him by stirring up through his lieutenant in Africa the various wild tribes, who, thus incited and assisted, made frequent predatory incursions into the Moslem dominions in Spain ; yet, with all this, the Eastern caliph was constrained to admire the sagacity and prudence of Abdul-Rahman, who, almost unaided, had faced and overcome so many difficulties till he had finally and firmly established his throne.

In the year of the Hegira 151, there was another revolt, when the rebels in considerable force marched upon the capital ; it was upon this occasion that the governor of Seville, who had been ordered by the

caliph to quell the insurrection, displayed such heroic impartiality, sacrificing his own affections to a sense of duty towards his sovereign and his country: the story runs, that having ordered his son Ommyah to command the van, he had the mortification of seeing this son fly before striking a blow, overcome by terror at the overwhelming numbers of the rebels. The enraged father, roused to the utmost indignation, cut off the retreat of the poltroon, and after upbraiding him severely had him beheaded on the spot; remarking to those who endeavoured to interpose for his life, "that it was better at once to sever the rotten branch of a noble tree than run the risk of its infecting the whole sap." After this, calling upon his troops to follow his example, he threw away his scabbard and rushed upon the rebels, when a most sanguinary conflict ensued. A third conspiracy broke out in 161 of the Hegira, A.D. 783: but this was crushed in the bud; and four years afterwards one of the caliph's own nephews was convicted of high treason and executed. It was upon this occasion that Abdul-Rahman gave vent to his surprise and sorrow at the base ingratitude of all those whom he had sheltered and provided for—"it is a wonder to us," exclaimed he, "how, after all our endeavours to place these people in security and comfort, and after risking our life (until God, whose motives are a mystery, was pleased that we should carry out our purpose), they should be so ungrateful as to array themselves in arms against us. They come to this country flying from the swords of our enemies; yet when we receive them with open arms, and give them a share in the empire, which

God destined for us alone, they fancy themselves superior to us, and try to resist that power which the Almighty has placed in our hands! But God has chastised their ingratitude by permitting us to understand their secrets, and by turning against them the blows which they aimed at us." Had it not been for these frequently recurring revolts, Abdul-Rahman would have carried out a gigantic scheme which he had well matured, and which promised most fairly. This was to march at the head of his powerful Moslem army in Spain, and recapture the vast empire which had been originally governed by his ancestors of the house of Ommeyah, and which included the whole of northern Africa, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Arabia. Every preparation was made for this expedition, and even Suleyman had been publicly declared regent of the Moslem dominions in Spain during his father's absence; but, as has been already stated, these plans were prevented by the often occurring revolts. The civil feuds and discords among the believers of the prophet gave the scattered Spaniards time to collect forces, and to plot the means for a revolt against the power of the invaders, and the people of Galicia daily augmented their strength. Fruela, a son of Alphonso, who was at that period the Christian king, succeeded in regaining possession of many of the towns and fortresses on the Moslem frontiers; and having driven out their inhabitants, garrisoned them with his own soldiers. Amongst the cities thus recaptured were Lugo, Portokal (Oporto), Zamora, Cashtelah (Castille), and Segovia; and these are said to have remained many years in subjection to the descendants

of Fruela. From the foregoing list, as taken from an intelligent Arabian historian, it appears evident that the Moslems had extended their conquests even far into Portugal; and, following this quotation, there is another extract, which would seem to certify the interesting fact that this first Mahometan caliph of Spain was actually for some time warring against that great general of his age, Charlemagne, acknowledged by this Arabian historian to have been one of the most powerful sovereigns of the Franks; and that Charlemagne was unable to gain any advantage over these fierce wild sons of the distant desert tracts of Arabia.

Notwithstanding these frequent revolts and wars, this early Arabian caliph found leisure to indulge in the cultivation of science. He is said to have added vastly to the embellishments of the already magnificent city of Cordova, by the construction of palatial streets, all of that peculiar architecture which is so distinct a feature in oriental cities, and fragments of which are to be met with even at the present day in Spain. Like most orientals, Abdul-Rahman evinced a fervent passion for that quiet romantic picturesque, which is the effect produced by all the gardens and country villas possessed by wealthy natives in Turkey and Syria—a soft purling stream, where the sunbeams in summer may silently dance upon the gentle ripple; stately trees, whose overhanging branches clustered with ripening fruit spread forth an umbrageous canopy, under which the indolent lord may recline and smoke, whilst the pleasant breeze travels over plots of richly-scented gardens, and where the voice of

the silvery muezzin fades gently away in the evening echo.—In such a spot, at such an hour, the orientals sink into that delightful torpor—a kind of waking dream of the joy of paradise—known among them under that very comprehensive word, “keif,” signifying the utmost enjoyment of health and bliss.

Thus Abdul-Rahman endeavoured to render Cordova a perfect paradise upon earth. One of his first measures was to supply the city abundantly with excellent water; which he did by constructing a gigantic aqueduct, from a spring in the distant mountains, into the heart of the very city; and he planted a magnificent garden, upon the model of one possessed by his ancestors at Munyat Arrisafah, a village near Damascus; where his grandfather, Hisham, had erected a splendid villa, in which he himself had passed some of the happiest hours of his youth. Spain might in climate and soil almost rival Syria; and the caliph found, to his delight, that his efforts were crowned with entire success. He resolved, therefore, to spare no expense in adorning the city. In the centre of his own private garden he erected a superb palace; and being passionately fond of flowers, he commissioned botanists to procure seeds and specimens of all the flowers luxuriating in eastern climates. Nor was this all; for to him are the Spaniards indebted for the introduction into their country of the peach and the pomegranate, both of which were exotics from Persia and Syria; and the probability is that we ourselves are indebted to him (Abdul-Rahman), not for these fruits only, but for many other exotic dainties,

foreign to our climes, but which abundantly grace the boudoirs and tables of the wealthy, and whereon the poor may gaze in fruiterers' and confectioners' windows. In addition to this he was a great patron of literature, and himself a poet; leaving behind him some specimens of poetry, which are held in great estimation by the Arabs, but which certainly lose by translation, having principally reference to palm-trees, and deserts, and fountains, and other oriental subjects, but which bear in European ears no familiar associations. At length, after a prosperous though troubled reign of thirty-three years and four months, Abdul-Rahman was gathered to his fathers, in the year of the Hegira 166, A.D. 788, and buried within the walls of his palace at Cordova.

At the period of this caliph's death, his son Hisham, surnamed Abu-l-Waled, who was then governor of Merida, and who had been previously named his father's successor, was duly proclaimed; and acknowledged as head of the Mahometans in Spain. Hisham was not the eldest son of the deceased caliph, but he was the wisest; and it had long been determined that he should supersede his brother in the caliphate. It is said that during Abdul-Rahman's lifetime, he often and privately inquired of his courtiers, how his two sons, Suleyman and Hisham, respectively conducted themselves in private life; and the answer he invariably received led him to the determination of nominating the younger his successor. He was told that whenever Hisham mingled in society, his associates were men highly distinguished for their talents—poets

and historians, who commented upon the exploits of the brave, and discoursed on military questions—whereas Suleyman was always associating with jesters and sycophants. Hisham seems to have justified his father's choice; for he is represented by eastern historians as a learned, just, and charitable man, though imbued with certain superstitions, which however may have served to keep him in the path of virtue; for it is said that, soon after his accession, he sent for a learned astrologer from Algesiras, whose name was Adh-dhobi, and who had studied deeply the writings of Ptolemy. This man pretended to divine the future of the young caliph; and predicted that his would be a triumphant and glorious but brief reign—extending over only eight years from his accession. This latter portion of the prophecy, of course, rather intimidated and cooled the ambition of the young caliph; and he is said ever after to have devoted himself to the furtherance of the Mahometan faith, and the discharge of strict justice in his public duty. Like the early caliph, Omar Eben Abdalaziz, Hisham was careful, when he assumed the reins of government, to send trustworthy persons into all the Moslem provinces in Spain, to inquire into the circumstances of the people, to obtain their private opinion of their respective governors; and where any were convicted, after a fair trial, of injustice or oppression, he was sure to visit these crimes severely; not only replacing the offenders by men worthier to govern, but never again receiving them into his service, and subjecting them to heavy fines and long imprisonments. This caused him such great



popularity amongst his own people, that his fame extended even unto the east—and a rival there, one *Imam Malik Ibn Aas*, is said, on hearing of his virtues, to have lifted up his hands, and exclaimed, “*May the Almighty preserve his life, and make him one of our elect!*” But, as was to have been expected from his having superseded his elder brother in the caliphate, Hisham was not long permitted to rule in peace. Revolts headed by Suleyman, and by another brother, Abdallah, broke out in various parts of Spain, and at first threatened to subvert his power; but when he at length took the command into his own hands, and personally faced the rebels, fortune changed in his favour; and the revolt being very shortly quelled, its ringleaders submitted to his clemency. But, however lenient he may have proved to people of his own faith, it is very evident that he felt little compassion toward the unfortunate Christians; for in his days the city of Narbonne was recaptured from them; and on the Galician vassals suing for peace, Hisham, we are told, only accorded it on very hard conditions. One of these obliged the poor captives to carry a certain number of loads of earth and bricks—the ruins of the demolished walls of the city—to the gate of his own palace in Cordova, to be used there in the construction of a mosque, which he caused to be erected opposite to the Bab-al-Jenan gate of the gardens—originally planned and laid out by his father. This mosque, as also heaps of surplus earth and bricks, remained for many years, a painful memorial to the crushed and broken-spirited Christians of the supremacy of an impostor’s faith; and, by the more devout among

them, oftentimes called to mind, as the muezzin-cry resounded from those minarets, the bondage of Israel in Egypt; and silently and fervently they prayed that they too might be delivered from dwelling within the tents of Kedar.

## CHAPTER XX.

**Expedition to Alava and Castile—Death of Hisham—His character—Succeeded by Al-Hakem—Capture of Barcelona by the Spaniards—The Moslems defeated—Insurrection suppressed—Decline of the Islam power—Great victory of the Spaniards—Death of Al-Hakem—Reflections on Moslem tyranny—Accession of Abdul-Rahman the Second—War with the Christians—The Moslems lose ground—Their degeneration.**

IN the year of the Hegira 171, A.D. 793, Hisham entrusted his grand vizier with the command of a powerful army to attack and subdue the Christians in Alava and Castile ; and he, victorious upon every occasion, used the greatest harshness and cruelty towards his captives, for already was the blood of Islamism imbued with that hatred which has ever since manifested itself in the dealings of Mahometans with their Christian subjects. The following year, in 172 of the Hegira, the vizier again marched against the already depopulated districts of Narbonne and Gerona, laid waste the territories adjoining, and subdued the whole country of Cerdagne. It is said that the vizier carried his arms still further into the countries of the Christians, and his frequent successes had filled them with such panic that whole armies threw away their weapons and fled in every direction. In 173 of the Hegira, the conquerors followed up their successes with unabating ardour

till they reached Astorga; when the king of the Galicians, assisted by the Basques, made a resolute stand, checked the invaders in their predatory course, and—though Arabian writers deny the fact—drove them back with considerable slaughter into their own strongholds. This terminated the victories of Hisham's generals; and afterwards he led the life of a recluse, dying, by a strange coincidence with the prophecy, after a reign of seven years and nine months, in the year of the Hegira 174, A.D. 796.—Thus accomplishing, within three months, the prediction of the astrologer, whose forebodings perhaps preyed upon his susceptible mind and assisted in working their own fulfilment. Amongst the Arabs he has left a fame for courage and learning; but his cruelty toward his captives tends heavily to counterpoise the account. It is but just, however, while inveighing against a dead man's public character, to award him all available praise; and this is the more requisite when we remember that, even amongst the sects—miscalled Christians—persecutions and barbarities have equalled the worst ever practised by Moslems. We have only to remember that, in this very country—Spain—there existed at later (and, therefore, more civilized) ages, that fearful tribunal, the Inquisition; and when we reflect on the proceedings of those black judges, and remember that their bones are crumbling side by side with thousands of Moslem invaders; we might almost, to use an Eastern metaphor, distinguish the graves of the one from the other by their comparative cruelties; rank and noxious weeds distinguishing the dust of the inquisitor, whilst almost roses might bloom over the

last abode of many an heroic Islam. No true courage ever stooped to cruelty ; no just man to oppression ; but between vice and virtue there are an infinity of grades, and the actions of a lifetime alone can accord to every public servant his due position in the scale of public opinion—private life and secret thoughts and deeds must ever remain unknown, as far as man's discernment is concerned. So, in favour of Hisham, it is recorded that he instituted a night watch, composed of the most respectable citizens of each city in Moslem Spain ; these went their regular rounds from nightfall till sunrise ; and all those apprehended in the streets, who could give no good account of themselves or their movements, were instantly conveyed to prison ; when fines were levied according to the offence, their proceeds being invariably devoted to such charities as would most benefit the needy poor.

Hisham, who died in his fortieth year, was succeeded by Al-Hakem, his son ; whom he had, prior to his demise, declared to be his successor. No sooner had Al-Hakem succeeded to the caliphate of Islam Spain, than he took measures, first, to consolidate his own personal security, by considerably augmenting his body-guard ; secondly, that of his possessions in Spain, by taking into his own hands the immediate superintendence of the administration of public affairs. With all these precautions, however, he was continually disturbed by the revolts of his two uncles, who both laid claim to the right of succession ; so that barely five years had elapsed from his accession, when the Spaniards and other Christians, availing themselves of these discords, laid

siege to, and after a fierce resistance succeeded in recapturing, Barcelona. This occurred in the year of the Hegira 179, A.D. 801; and the dispersed Islam garrison sought refuge with their brethren, who still held sway in the neighbouring provinces. At this day we think of Barcelona chiefly in connexion with its celebrated nuts, ready cracked and served with the dessert. When Moors and Spaniards were combating, they counted at Barcelona the number of cracked skulls; and upon the whole the returns, if we are to give any credence to the Arabian historians, must have been prodigious. But to return to Al-Hakem. Enraged at the successes of the Christians, he dispatched a trusty general (Hujeb Abdulahem) to punish these rebellious Spaniards. In this expedition it would appear that the Islams most signally failed; for they were waylaid in mountain passes, and the spirit of chivalry was shaking off the indolent lassitude of long-oppressed Andalus, so that the followers of the prophet had never till then met so sturdy a resistance; and, after immense loss, they were glad to retreat once more to within the boundaries of the Mahometan possessions, carrying with them the war-cry of victory—leaving behind them, on the mountain passes and in the plains, unquestionable records of defeat in their thousands of dead men. Meanwhile, civil discord was ever on the alert, and Al-Hakem had much to contend against in the perpetual intrigues of his uncles, Suleyman and Abdallah. In the very capital a revolt, headed by some fanatics, who considered Al-Hakem fonder of pleasure than a true believer should be, was with difficulty repressed. Haschim, however, fought well,

and dispersed the rabble; razing to the ground the western suburb of Cordova, where the disturbance had broken out, and not even sparing a single mosque in his fury. This so terrified the insurgents, that almost to a man they quitted Spain. Some fled into Africa, and settled at Fez, where they peopled a quarter of that city, called, after them, *Medinatir Andalusii*—the town of the Andalusians. Most, however, betook themselves to Alexandria, in Egypt, and, carrying with them their revolutionary spirit, were soon quarrelling with the governor of that town, a lieutenant of the caliph Al-Masuhun, son of the famous Harun Alrashid, of *The Thousand and One Nights'* celebrity. The insurrection was soon quelled, and most of the insurgents were transported to the island of Crete, which they eventually became masters of, until they, in their turn, were beaten by the Franks, and expelled. In the year 185 of the Hegira, A.D. 807, Lodwick, son of Carl, king of the Franks, marched upon Tarragona. Here he encountered Abdul-Rahman, the son of Al-Hakem, and, according to Arab historians, the latter was the victor. But be this as it may, one fact remains indisputable, viz. that from this time forward the Moslems lost ground in Christendom, and the Spaniards became daily more emboldened; so much so, that even in 189 of the Hegira, A.D. 811, the Christians revolted at Toledo, and Al-Hakem found it expedient to hazard a battle in person. For a short period the Islams were again successful; but in the year 193 of the Hegira, A.D. 815, a battle occurred between the Christians and the Mahometans; in which, though the Moslems at first came off best, the true

believers were after thirteen days' hard fighting entirely routed, the very elements seeming to combine in their destruction—the waters of a river, close on whose opposite banks the two armies were encamped, flooding the Moslem tents, and drowning as many as had been slain the previous fortnight in combat.—

Six years subsequently, in the year 199 of the Hegira, the third caliph of Islam Spain, Al-Hakem, died; and with his career and end may be said to have closed those brilliant achievements which were so abundant during the first century and a half of Islam. Their boundaries of empire towards the west began gradually to be diminished; and, as the standard of the prophet was replaced by the cross, so in proportion the impostor's faith died out of these lands; till finally the very word Moslem or Turk became and still remains a reproachful epithet, surpassing almost the shame of being called a Jew; and yet for two hundred years these people held sway and lorded it over the land of Christians, only too bigoted in their zeal to their own faith. What a picture must this long period present to the imagination of those who retrace the afflictions of Spain during this first two centuries of her bondage! secure in no property—in no affection—at no time certain of the caprices of men whose word was a warrant of execution! In the natural course of human existence at least four generations of Spaniards must have been born, have gone through the trials of life, and passed into eternity. At no hour was the honour of a wife or a sister safe; personal estate and property were inferior considera-



tions ; these might at any given moment be forfeited, and men born to wealth reduced to abject poverty. Silently they yielded to these oppressions ; and through many a year not one nerve throbbed to overthrow a thralldom worse far than the spirit of modern civilization can imagine. Where slumbered the soul of honour and chivalry ? where dwelled the demons of jealousy and revenge ? All these lay torpid, and awoke only in future generations ; when the first were perhaps needed, but when the latter revived to wreak their mischief, not upon the foe that had harassed them through centuries, but upon their own harmless citizens and peasantry—till the dreams of early superstition mingled themselves strangely with the fanatic shadow which Islamism had left behind, and these together hoisted their black banners over the dungeons of the Inquisition—insignia far more ominous of sorrow and death than ever was the sable flag of Khaled, the conqueror of Syria.

Abdul-Rahman the Second—fourth caliph of Spain—succeeded to his father's throne soon after the latter's death. This prince, who was thirty years of age when proclaimed caliph, had enough to do in keeping the Christians out of the Islam possessions in Spain. In 201 of the Hegira, he sent an expedition against Alava and Castile, but apparently with no great success, though the Moslem troops committed great devastation amongst the vineyards and orange groves of the Spaniards. Sixteen years after this—that is, in the year 217 of the Hegira—another expedition was dispatched against the same places when, meeting the enemy on

the road, a furious conflict ensued, in which neither side gained much advantage. Then came Alphonso II. of Leon, who marched into the district of Medina-celi, but his troops were routed by the Islams; and a Mahometan general, Fortim-Ibn-Musa, levelled with the ground a considerable fortress which the Christians had constructed in Alava. 219 of the Hegira saw the Islams again in Cerdagne; where, after a furious battle, they are supposed to have gained a temporary advantage over the natives of Andalus; and in 222 Mahomet, a son of the Caliph Abdul-Rahman II., marched upon Pampolona; and near that city met and defeated an army of Spaniards, slaying their prince, Garcia, who was reputed to have been a very gallant soldier. Then follows in the history of the Islam dynasty in Spain one tissue of bloodshed—sanguinary skirmishes conflicts and battles—all which only serve to show that the power of the Moslems, though still seemingly firm in Spain, was being rapidly undermined. Resistance, as terrible as it was resolute, had sprung up in every Christian breast; and though from long want of skill in war they were oftentimes crushed—oftentimes disheartened by sufferings—they rallied again to the effort, and came back with renewed energy and fiercer resolve to repel the intruders from shores from which the shadow of the crescent standard was gradually receding. Where now were the early conquests of Jerusalem, of Damascus, Aleppo and Antioch? Where the hard-fought battles of Persia? Where the captive kings and the damsels of surpassing beauty and lofty rank? Where the rich booty that defied cal-

culatation, even in the country which gave birth to figures? and where the daring and the suffering, the courage and yet the humanity, of those early caliphs, such as Omar, whose exploits were grafted deeply in the themes of historians and the lays of ancient bards? What could now be brought to compare with the sturdy battles in Egypt and Africa—the dauntless spirit that made Musa-Eben-Nosseyr in his old age launch forth upon the deep—an unfathomable and as yet untried marvel to his mighty heart? or with that famed Moslem general who rode into the waves of the Atlantic, spurring forward his courser till both were swept back by the rolling surge of the ocean—a spirit of old and wild enthusiasm!—a spirit born and bred in the desert of Arabia, which neither sought nor allowed the effeminate luxuriance of a people devoted to pleasure? In two hundred years this spirit had woefully degenerated in Spain;—when Tarik landed they fought for their honour and for their faith—two centuries afterwards the Moslems fought because they found the Spaniards and not themselves the aggressors; contending, though vainly, to retrieve what their forefathers had wrenched from the unwary Andalusians: but if the spirit of Tarik and his early host of warriors haunted the court of Abdul-Rahman the Second, they would have shrunk back again to their graves. The hardy, reckless warrior, with heart bold as a lion's, yet open to pity, had long since been sunk in the luxurious and gaudy citizen and courtier; the sabre of Islam was still unsheathed, but the arm that wielded it was unnerved; and where they first fought for honour

and glory, and to add kingdom to kingdom in their already vast empire, they now fought to save themselves from, if possible, the shame of expulsion from a land won through the prowess of their fathers.

## CHAPTER XXI.

**Invasion of Galicia—Embassy from Theophilus—Alliance with Theophilus—Death of Abdul-Rahman II.—His character—Succeeded by Mahomed I.—Attack on Pampolona—Destruction of Merida—Great earthquake at Cordova—Death of Mahomed—Succeeded by Al Mundhir—He is killed in a skirmish—Accession of Abdallah—His character and death.**

GALICIA was besieged by a Moslem army under the command of the vizier of Abdul-Rahman the Second. The Moslems sacked the city of Leon, and being unable, even with their powerful battering rams, to demolish its strongly-constructed fortifications, they retreated with spoil and prisoners to within the precincts of the Islam domains, having first made an incursion into the territories of the Franks through the defiles known as Portæ; but, amid these daily forages and skirmishes, an incident occurred which established the reputation of the Islam standard and throne in the future Turkish empire. In the year 218 of the Hegira, an embassy had arrived at the caliphate in Cordova from Theophilus, then king or emperor of the Greeks at Constantinople, a city then known to the Islams only by report, but which was one day to become the seat of their power, the headquarters of their faith, and the emporium of their commerce. Theophilus, who had of late years been greatly harassed by the Islams of Arabia, especially

by those under Al-Mamun and Al-Mu'tassem, aware of the feud that existed between the rival Islam families representing the caliphates of Bhaghdad and Cordova, sought Abdul-Rahman's aid against the descendants of the house of Abbas. To this end he tempted Abdul-Rahman with the conquest of the empire which his ancestors of the house of Ommeyah had possessed in the East, and, in an autograph letter, he entered more fully into explanation of his views and intentions. Abdul-Rahman, attracted by the proposition, sent him, by the hands of a young but accomplished and trustworthy ambassador, valuable gifts in token of his esteem, and an alliance was formed between the two sovereigns—so that Abdul-Rahman extended his fame even further than the Beni-Abbas. It would appear from what *Ibnn-Hayyan* says, that the success of this mission was as much attributable to the beauty of the Grecian empress as to the courtesy of the ambassador, who, though he declined the high honour of dining at the imperial table, found ample opportunity for displaying his skill in courtly adulation. He told the empress that, in his judgment, her black eyes would frustrate the evil intentions of any cruel potentate that threatened to carry war into her husband's dominions; that, for his own part, he could never hope to reach Spain again, as he must languish and die under the privation of her charming society. This and such other idle praise, smoothed the way to most advantageous terms for the Muslims. Soon after this, Abdul-Rahman II. died, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and the thirty-first of his reign, If famous for nothing else,

he is chronicled for the number of his wives and children ; Arabian historians record one hundred and fifty sons, and fifty daughters ; such a number of filial arrows must have required a large quiver wherein to store them. With this prince is supposed to have originated the absurd and hideous system ever since so strictly imposed upon Moslem women by their male relations, of veiling their faces and shrouding their persons with izzars whenever they appeared in public. He himself covered himself with a veil whenever he rode to the mosque ; signifying that royalty and the women of the harem were too precious to be exposed to common eyes. It is told of him, relative to his great partiality for one of his legion of ladies—this favourite, whose name was Tarub, was, for some (or for no) reason, offended with the caliph, whom no effort could restore to her favour, until he caused the door of her apartment to be blocked up with sacks full of golden dinars. A few centuries later, and a sulky sultana would have been quieted with a sack, not filled with gold but with her own fair person, and safely deposited at the bottom of the Bosphorus. His son, Mahomed the First, succeeded. The first act of his reign was to endeavour to suppress the Christians, who were everywhere stirring up their neighbours, and leaguering for the expulsion of the Moors from Andalus. The kings of Galicia and Biscay encountered Mahomed near the Guadacelete, and here forty thousand are said to have perished by falling into an ambush set for them by the Islams.

This year saw the Mahometan coasts of Spain troubled by a visitation of ships belonging to the

**Magus, or Northmen.** Mahomed's admirals, however, proved themselves the better seamen ; for they took two ships, and destroyed some others, although it is acknowledged by their own historians that they lost an immense number of their own people in this naval engagement. Mahomed invaded the territories of Pampolona, and, after ravaging that country, returned, bringing with him captive a son of Garcia, the prince of that province, and this unhappy youth remained twenty years in captivity. Alphonso the Third in Alava and Castile was attacked by the Mahometans, with much loss of life on either side ; and in the same year Mahomed himself led an army against the inhabitants of Galicia. Two years after there was another foray, so that Spain had no rest indeed. But not only were the Moslems compelled to be at continual warfare with the Christians round about their Spanish territories, but their own people grew more and more revolutionary ; so that, in the year of the Hegira 247, the once celebrated and beautiful city of Merida was utterly razed to the ground, and its inhabitants scattered over Africa and the East, not a vestige remaining of this once opulent and splendid city ! Its inhabitants had been the most rebellious subjects in the Mahometan Spanish possessions, not only during the reign of Mahomed, but that of his father and grandfather. This period was one unvarying scene of warfare and pillage, during which it was hard to say whether the Christians or the Islams came worst off ; but in the latter year (261), a greater and more fearful calamity than war afflicted the Islam inhabitants of Cordova. The day



had been cool and serene, such as only Spain, or Syria, or Italy can boast. Evening had begun to spread her stillness over its business and its pleasure, the muezzin was sounding forth his call to prayer, when suddenly the gradual shade was changed into thick darkness, the air was charged with a stifling bituminous vapour; the heavens seemed rent with the crash of loudest thunder; and the brilliant lightning flashed fiery sheets over the town. Not a word was spoken—not a cry uttered; and the terror was so intense, that many fell corpses even before the calamity had commenced. Then came a rumbling sound, travelling with electric speed through the bowels of the earth. The whole city was rent from quarter to quarter with fearful earthquakes; hurricanes swept the city, throwing down houses, towers, minarets, and filling the air with clouds of dust; men, women, and children were flying in every direction, unknowing whither. Another shock, and the mountains were rent in twain, the wild beasts fled from their lairs, and tame cattle ran about as though crazed by excess of fear. Those citizens that reached the plains cast themselves upon the earth, and abided the sequel of these successive shocks. Finally, when the night had been far spent, they began gradually to abate. Morning dawned in the east as bright as Spanish morn could; and then, with truly oriental patience, the inhabitants set to and cleared the dust and rubbish away, and got out as many of their friends as they could; and then they rebuilt the city, saying, "Inshallah! it may be long before another such calamity fall upon our heads again." Five years

after this event, Mahomed died, leaving his son, Al-Mundhir the First, his successor. No sooner had the caliph breathed his last, than messengers were dispatched to his son, who was then absent with the army. He speedily arrived at Cordova, and was duly enthroned.

The reign of Al-Mundhir was of troubled and brief duration, having been principally occupied in unsuccessful attempts to quell the revolts instigated by Omar Ibn Hassan, a man of Christian origin, who rose during the lifetime of Mahomed to importance, by his combined craftiness and enterprise. Once Al-Mundhir successfully besieged him in a stronghold, and so pressed him on all sides that he was forced to surrender; not, however, before he had extracted a promise from the caliph that his life should be spared, and that he should be permitted to reside unmolested at Cordova. This condition having been acceded to, Al-Mundhir received the rebel and his followers with kindness in his own tent, when Omar solicited the caliph to allow him one hundred mules, for carrying his baggage and family to Cordova. This was also acceded to; and more, ten companies of cavalry were sent to escort him and his family in safety. Meanwhile, several cadis and learned men, who had accompanied the expedition, seeing the war at an end, proposed taking advantage of the convoy to return to the capital.\* Omar followed the caravan at a little distance, with a band of outlaws, his associates, and observing a favourable opportunity; they pounced upon the un-

\* This fact alone shows the troubled state of the Mahometan possessions in Spain.

wary convoy—slew the guards—secured his family and all the treasure—and retreated into the mountains. With this man the caliph had to fight many a pitched battle; but after defeating him in several encounters, Al-Mundhir was killed in a skirmish near Yebaster, after a reign of nearly two years, all of which was spent in trouble and vexation of spirit. To him succeeded his brother, Abdallah Ibn Mahomed; and, according to Ibnu Khalchin, the revenue, though augmented considerably during this caliph's reign, barely sufficed to pay the expenses of the civil warfare that was then ceaselessly raging in every part of the Islam empire in Spain. One might almost imagine from the subsequent history of Spain, even down to the present century, that the seeds of civil discord, first sown by the followers of the Islam prophet, had germinated in the breasts of successive generations—the baneful plant seeming to thrive better on a Christian soil than on a Mahometan. According to the Arab historians, Abdallah was a very pious man; attended mosque daily; never drank wines or spirituous liquors: he, moreover, was somewhat of a poet. After a reign of nearly five-and-twenty years, he died—just at the termination of the third century of the Hegira; and at a period when other events were passing on the distant shores of India, which will be narrated in the succeeding chapter.

## CHAPTER XXII.

Islamism in Hindostan—The Zamoran of Carigalore—His address to his subjects—He departs for Mecca—His death—His parting address—His firman to his chiefs—Delivery of the firman—Rejoicings at Carigalore—Malek Ibn Habeeb—Islamism in Malabar—Reflections on the spread of Mahometanism—Advantageous to England—The late Duke of Wellington.

AT this time, Islamism was first introduced into Hindostan by some Mahometan merchants accidentally landing upon the coast of Malabar. According to an extract from Ferishtah's General History of Hindostan, published many years ago, as translated by James Anderson in the Asiatic Miscellany at Calcutta, the event happened thus :—A company of Mahometan merchants travelling from Arabia and Syria, disguised as dervishes, embarked from Suez with the intention of visiting Adam's Peak in Ceylon ; led by religious enthusiasm to ascertain the tradition of the footprint of our first parent being discernible on its loftiest summit. The vessel in which they embarked was, however, driven by stress of weather on the coast of Malabar ; where they landed, and were well received by the Zamoran or chief of Carigalore, a wise and benevolent prince ; who contracted an intimacy with these voyagers, and, discovering that they professed the Moslem faith,

questioned them concerning its forms and tenets ; assuring them at the same time that he was by no means a stranger to the renown, which the courage of the prophet's followers, as also their charitable deeds and faith, had acquired for them. He told them that both Jew and Christian merchants, who were annually in the habit of trading up the Red Sea and into Arabia and Syria, had long since brought him intimation that the Mahometan faith was prevalent in those countries, and that he was desirous of judging for himself respecting its merits. One of the dervishes expounded to him the Koran ; when, finding perhaps its doctrines in accordance with his own love of pleasure, and appreciating the many indulgences accorded to its disciples, the Zamoran unhesitatingly declared himself a convert ; requiring, however, for fear of the people, that his conversion to the Islam faith should not, for a time at least, be made known : then, heaping them with gifts, and exacting a promise that they would hereafter return, he suffered them to depart for Ceylon. Some months afterwards, these missionaries of the Islam faith returned to Carigalore ; and soon after the Zamoran determined to accompany them on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He accordingly provided the dervishes with money, that they might prepare vessels and lay in a large stock of water and provisions. He then determined to summon into his presence all the members of his family and ministers of state ; these being assembled, he told them that, being overcome with the devout desire of worshipping God, he had determined to pass much of his time in privacy ; and that, as they would consequently be deprived of frequent

opportunities of seeing him, it was his intention to give them an autograph letter of instruction, which might avoid the necessity of their repeated applications to himself. After much discourse, they all bound themselves by oath not to deviate from his command. He then wrote in the Malabar language a code of laws; and, having divided the whole of the country of Malabar, he addressed them as follows:—"Let the shares which I have allotted to each be held by him and his family from generation to generation, and let none look with a covetous eye at the possessions of another. If a rupture should take place between any of the chiefs, let them enter and ravage the countries of each other; but let them take no permanent possession. Beware of the killing of a king. If in the field of battle a king should happen to be killed, let his whole forces be assembled and let them not rest until they have killed his adversary, with all his army, and destroyed his country." With these not very pious instructions, the Zamoran brought his mandate to a close; but our author says that, even down to the year 1020 of the Hegira, the Malabarians cautiously avoided the killing of a king. It is said that, when the Zamoran had completed the division, one of the chiefs who had been compelled by circumstances to absent himself made his appearance. The Zamoran, perplexed what to do, after some hesitation presented him with his sword, and told him that by means of it, whatever part of the country of Malabar he might seize should be claimed as his lawful property, to descend to his children after him, and that after his own (the Za-

moran's) death, the title of Zamoran should be conferred on him and his successors. Having settled all these points, the Zamoran informed his council that he was going to a certain indicated spot to perform his religious devotions; and gave strict injunctions that no one should be permitted to approach within a mile thereof for the period of a week. That very night he embarked with his Mahometan friends and set sail for Mecca. After the suspense of a week, the Malabarians hastened to the spot, where they hoped to find the Zamoran; whom having, as they supposed, been living upon his devotions for the last seven days, they fully expected to find transformed into a Ramah Sawmy, or some other object of heathen worship. Much, then, was their surprise on discovering nothing; and as nothing was to be discovered, they came to the unanimous conclusion that the Zamoran had secluded himself until his wings should become of sufficient strength to bear him upward to the skies, from whence he would in due time redescend to his terrestrial dominions. The new Moslem, however, died on his voyage with the merchants, at the harbour of Shidger; where, however, before departing this life he resorted to the following stratagem for the propagation amongst his countrymen of the faith which he had so enthusiastically embraced. He assembled his fellow voyagers and addressed them as follows:—

“ Since my sole object is the propagation of the Mussulman religion in Malabar, and since it is suitable to the friendship which subsists between us that you should do your utmost to promote this purpose, I request you will, along with other Mussulmans, re-

turn to Malabar in the guise of merchants, and, under one pretext or other, build houses and places of reception for travellers, that so you may inspire the inhabitants with the love of your religion, and at length bring them over to its faith."

After a prayer for his welfare, the dervishes replied, that it was in vain for them to return without him; as the infidels of Malabar were all their adversaries, and would never suffer them to come and go, far less to make a settlement in the country. Then the Zamoran wrote with his own hand a firman, addressed to his chiefs and relatives, that he had, by the command of God, been forced to separate himself for a short time from them; that till his return he strictly enjoined them not to deviate from the written instructions he had left them. The firman proceeded to state that one Malek-Ibn-Habeeb, and a particular company of religious men, who were all virtuous and incapable of evil, would shortly arrive in Malabar; and, as he had formerly known them when they came there in the capacity of merchants, he recommended them to their protection, that they should show them every civility in their power, should distinguish them above all other travellers, and, in short, should so gain their affection, as to induce them to fix their residence in the country, there to build houses and mosques and plant gardens; taking care, in particular, to prevent any other sect, whether strong or weak, from molesting them. This firman he intrusted to the merchants, to deliver to the chief of Carigalore, from whom, he assured them, they would meet with a favourable reception; and having enjoined them to observe a



strict secrecy regarding the circumstances attending his journey and situation, he divided his effects amongst them and expired; closing the scene with delusion and deceit, only to be equalled by the last dying moments of the impostor-prophet himself, when, with death's cold clutch on his heart, he pronounced the awful lie—that it was from choice, and not from necessity, he was about to quit the world.—

In due time they reached the coast of Malabar; and, proceeding to Carigalore, there delivered the firman into the hands of the chief, who, recognizing the Zamoran's handwriting, expressed much satisfaction, and immediately inquired what was become of the Zamoran, and why he had left that country with them. In reply, the dervishes pretended to utter ignorance, and assured the chief that they were in nowise acquainted with his movements. They had encountered him, they said, when far out at sea, off the coast of Arabia; and that, understanding them to be on their way to the coast of Malabar, he had entrusted them with the firman which they had just delivered into his hands. The Malabarians, who, as had been already seen, were more than half inclined to believe that their late Zamoran had taken wings and flown away to the celestial regions, felt now confirmed in that belief; so that the arrival of this letter was celebrated with great festivity and joy at Carigalore, and throughout all the principalities of Malabar, "For," said they, "our Zamoran has doubtless descended again close to the Arabian shores; but he will shortly appear amongst us again, and this great mystery will be explained." The dervishes were immediately provided with suitable ac-

commodation, and the chief entertained them after the manner of his country, omitting nought of civility and attention. After becoming acquainted with their wishes and purposes, the chief wrote letters to all the people of Malabar; in which, after having set forth that Malek-Ibn-Habeeb and his companions had honoured that country with their presence, he ordered that in whatever city or town they might fix their abode, they should, agreeably to the order of the Zamoran, be furnished with suitable pieces of ground for building houses and mosques, and for planting gardens.

Malek and his companions first built houses and mosques at Carigalore, where several of them fixed their residence. He himself, however, and his family afterwards went to the boundaries of the country, and built houses, mosques, and gardens at Golam. There he left his family, and then proceeded to Mee-limarway, where he erected a mosque, as also at Kheraputtin, Zeraputtin, Canderina, Halliat, Facanore, Mangalore, and Kaldgircoote. In the mosques of all these several places he stationed Moslems, who performed their religious rites in the customary manner.

In the course of time, when the intercourse of the Moslems had greatly increased in the country of Malabar, and many of the chiefs had been converted to the Mahometan religion, the Rajahs of Goa, Dabul, Chaule, &c., gave also permission to all the Moslems from Arabia to settle in their countries with the title of Lords. This favour to the Moslems was a source of much vexation to the Jews and Christians, who held them in great abhorrence: but

the subjection of Guzerat and the Deccan to the King of Delhi had given such strength to the Mahometan religion in the Deccan, as secured the Moslems from any hostilities. It would be tedious, as useless, to follow up the spread of Islamism all over Hindostan, and beyond the Bay of Bengal, even into Sumatra and the Straits. We have seen how accidentally it was first introduced, and how fraudulently it obtained a position, so firm that it could not be displaced.

Thus, in three hundred years from the Flight of Mahomet, the delusions of that poor and friendless impostor had spread from the shores of the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, and the China Seas; that the solitary muezzin cry, first raised in the wilds of Arabia, had found its echo over Spain, North Africa, and Egypt, unto Asia Minor, Armenia, Persia, Syria, and Arabia, and thence over the vast continent of India. Who shall follow its course over the world's map, without acknowledging the talent of him who, in that uncivilized era, singly contrived and established a faith so congenial to the greater mass of the world?

But in introducing Islamism into India, the Mahometan devotees could little foresee that they were sowing seeds of the utmost utility, not to themselves alone, but to a nation that would, full six hundred years after the introduction of their faith, become virtual lords of the country; that the harvest of their labour and toil should be reaped by a nation, then barely known in name, and of whose existence, in those distant parts, they could form no clear conception: but it is an undeniable fact that, wherever

the Koran was accepted and preached, it was accompanied by a restless desire of war; while the indolent nations under the sultry clime of India seldom desired the glories of conquest, or disregarded the privations and dangers of warfare; but contented themselves with forays into neighbouring petty states, for the rescue or the robbery of a few head of cattle. They had no bold leader to inspire them with a contempt of death, much less with its defiance in the field. But all this was changed, when the Moslems had fascinated them with the rich promises revealed in the Koran; pampering the indigenous vices of the East with golden incentives of booty, and banishing the natural fear of death by the pictures of endless enjoyment so glowingly delineated by the Prophet. No sooner had these people embraced the new faith, than they seemed to cast aside their former indolence; and to issue forth, if not in themselves in their children, an active race of warriors, ever more fit and ever more ready for combat and victory, than were the infidels who dwelt around them, and whom they held in shameful vassalage.

This was the seed sown by early Islam missionaries, and which the British have eventually reaped to their own benefit. It was among the Moslems of Hindostan that, in the first onset, our forces met with the most resolute resistance: it is from among them at this day that the best of our sepoy are chosen, constituting the flower of that glorious Indian army, whereof England may well be proud, and whose fame and honour are graven deeply in the pages of history, when generations that are to

come shall read of Moodkee and Ferozeshah, where the Moslem-Indian sepoy had fought as bravely as his brother in arms, the British soldier.

There is yet another witness, whose record is emblazoned on its brightest page—the hero, whose remains (thanks to the Duke of Norfolk's courtesy) I had the high but melancholy honour of witnessing lowered into their last resting-place, under the dome of St. Paul's, on that memorable 18th of November, 1852. The thought then flashed across my mind of his testimony to the valour of our Moslem troops (for who could judge better than he who had vanquished them, and under whom they had overcome others?). The Moslem with us has proved a valiant and terrible foe, an effective ally, an invaluable subject and servant: shall we then desert their brethren in faith when menaced by a foe—a Christian indeed in name, but far worse than infidel by acts?

## CHAPTER XXIII.

Abdul-Rahman III.—Defeated by the Christians—Garcia dethroned—He is restored—Death of Abdul-Rahman—Succeeded by Al-Hakeem—Ceremony of swearing allegiance—War with the Spaniards—Landing of the Northmen—Arrival of Ordonez—Death of Al-Hakeem—Succeeded by Hisham—Mahomet Ibn Abi Amir—The bags of heads—The ladies of the harem—Hisham seized—Successes in Africa—Barcelona taken—Magnificent presents.

LET us now return to Spain. On the death of Abdallah, he was succeeded by his grandson, Abdul-Rahman the Third, the eighth caliph of the Mahometan possessions in Spain, though the first to assume the title of Caliph, and Defender of the Faithful. Through twenty-five years had he reigned before he was able in any way to suppress the continual outbreaks in all the surrounding provinces: the last half however of his fifty years' reign enjoyed peace and tranquillity, such as Spain under the Mahometans had never before experienced. This peace, however, had not been purchased without the bitterest experience. In this year he led, in person, a powerful army to the frontiers of Spain, intending to invade the territories of the Christians; when even their own historians acknowledge that they suffered a signal defeat, with immense loss of life. They say, nevertheless, that

the Christian nations beyond the Pyrenees voluntarily tendered the hand of submission—their kings sending the caliph rich presents to conciliate his favour; and that even the sovereigns of Rome, Constantinople, and other distant parts, sent ambassadors, empowered to accept any terms the caliph should dictate. But, even in ascribing just tribute to the prowess of the unfortunate Christians, Arabian historians cannot refrain from hinting that any victories obtained by them were mainly brought about through the treachery and skill of an Islam chief; who, fearing to meet with the fate that had attended his brother, a vizier strangled by the caliph, for some trifling offence, had fled to a neighbouring Christian court, where his advice and instruction were invariably successful. Amongst the embassies quoted by Eastern historians, the most distinguished were those sent by the King of the Slavonians, and also by the Emperor of Germany, to secure a continuation of the peace then existing between himself and the Islams, as also to request that Ferdinand count of Castile might be comprised in the treaty.

Garcia, the son of Sancho, had succeeded to the kingdom of Galicia, after the death of his father, a son of Fruela: but the Galicians, headed by Count Ferdinand of Castile, rose against him, and having dethroned him, proclaimed Ordono the Fourth his successor. But as Garcia was a grandson of Theuda, queen of Navarre, this princess took his part, and presented herself to Annasir, beseeching a continuance of peace and his assistance in recovering the throne for her grandson. The caliph received

the queen with much courtesy, and complied with her request by sending a powerful army to replace Garcia on the throne; Annasir, moreover, compelling the vanquished Galicians to swear adherence to their king, Garcia.

Finally, after a glorious reign, Abdul-Rahman died, of a paralytic stroke, in the seventy-third year of his age. According to the records of Oriental historians, at no period was the Mahometan empire more prosperous, or the Mahometan religion more triumphant, than under his reign. Commerce and agriculture flourished; and the sciences and arts received a new impulse. The splendour of his court is said to have been unrivalled even by the magnificence of the Eastern caliphs; and yet, with all this lavish expenditure, the revenue far exceeded that of any of his predecessors.

The day after the death of Abdul-Rahman, Al-Hakeem, surnamed Al-Mustanserbillah (he who implores the help of God), the son of the defunct caliph, ascended the throne; and immediately secured his position by exacting the oath of allegiance from all the surrounding provinces. His brother, Abu-Merwan-Obed-Allah, who had kept aloof from the ceremony, was forced into his presence, and compelled to comply with the usual formula. This ceremonial of swearing in the princes and governors of the various Moslem possessions in Spain, is recorded by Arabian historians as presenting a most imposing and magnificent spectacle. "In the hall where the caliph sat," say they, "stood the principal eunuchs of the palace in lines, beginning at the right and left sides of the throne, extending to the end of the



apartment. They were all dressed in white tunics, worn over black robes, which latter were to represent the court mourning for the defunct caliph ; and they were all armed with swords. Next to them came the eunuchs of an inferior grade, all dressed in glittering mail, with drawn swords in their hands. These were drawn up upon the terrace, and followed by Slavonian eunuchs of yet inferior rank. Then came the guards, with spears in their hands ; and after these the archers of the guards, with bows and quivers, followed by the black slaves, who were splendidly arrayed and covered with glittering arms. They wore white tunics, Sicilian helmets on their heads, and held in their hands shields of different colours, whilst their weapons were richly ornamented with gold. These were drawn up in double lines. Then came the horse-guards, drawn up on either side for near a quarter of a mile ; and after them the rest of the army. When the ceremony was concluded, the new caliph dismissed all his attendants, excepting his brothers and the officers of the household, whom he detained till after the interment of the late caliph." It is curious to read, in works of such grave historians as Ibnu Hayyan, a list of some of the presents tendered to this caliph on the day of his accession by some of his principal officers of state, whom he had confirmed in the posts they had occupied during his father's reign. One of these consisted of 100 Frank mamelukes, mounted on swift horses, and armed and equipped for war with swords, spears, shields, targets, and Indian caps ; upwards of 320 coats of mail of different kinds ; 800 steel helmets ; 50 Indian helmets

of wood ; some European helmets, not of wood ; 800 European javelins ; 100 shields ; 10 suits of armour, of solid silver, inlaid with gold ; and 20 buffaloes' horns, gilded.

Al-Hakeem soon found himself surrounded by outbreaks in all the Moslem frontiers ; and placing himself at the head of his army, he invaded the dominions of Ferran Gonzalez ; besieged San Estevan de Gormaz, which he took by force of arms, and, having destroyed it, returned victorious to Cordova. Sancho, king of the Basques (Navarre), excited the wrath of Al-Hakeem, by having broken some of the treaties which he had promised to observe for the preservation of peace. The caliph sent the governor of Saragossa, with a large body of troops, against him ; and Sancho formed an alliance with the King of the Galicians ; but notwithstanding this they appear to have been defeated. After this succeeded many minor engagements ; but the greatest consternation was occasioned to the Moslems in Spain by the sudden appearance off their coasts of the ships of the Majus, or Northmen, who effected a landing close to Lisbon, when they overran and ravaged the neighbouring country. No sooner was this intelligence received at Cordova, than the caliph himself set off, at the head of a formidable body of troops, and ordered his Lord High Admiral to prepare a fleet, so that, by both forces combined, they might expel the intruders ; but it seems that these precautions were not requisite, the people in the neighbourhood of Lisbon having risen with one accord and fallen upon the enemy ; so that they quitted the coast in the utmost dispatch.

Soon after this, Ordone, the fourth King of the Galicians, arrived at Cordova to seek the interference and aid of Al-Hakeem, in enabling him to regain the throne of which his father had dispossessed him. The caliph received him with all the pomp and state due to his high birth and rank; sending out troops and officers of his household some distance from the city, to meet and conduct the illustrious stranger to his presence. It is said that, on his entry, on passing the Babul-Jenan, where many of the caliphs lie interred, he inquired for the particular tomb of Abdul-Rahman the Third; and on its being pointed out to him, he is said to have dismounted and approached it reverently, cap in hand, where, kneeling, he continued in prayer for a considerable time. This little piece of pantomime no doubt contributed amazingly to the caliph's favourable reception of the dethroned Christian prince; and after much ceremony and display, he was sent back loaded with presents and promises.

After a reign of fifteen years, Al-Hakeem died, aged sixty-three, and was succeeded by his son Hisham, then only a lad of nine years old; but a man, named Mahomet-Ibn-Abi-Amir, whom Al-Hakeem had promoted from the rank of judge to that of vizier to his son, and who had accepted and fulfilled the commission of assassinating one of the late caliph's brothers, assumed the post of regent, himself aspiring to the supreme power. The prince whom he had assassinated was at the head of a very considerable party in Cordova, which had preferred him to his nephew, on account of the extreme youth of the latter; but, with the assistance of some other

wretches, this Mahomet surprised and murdered the unhappy prince two days after his brother (the caliph's) death, and then proclaimed Hisham without opposition; but no sooner had he assumed the regency, than he began plotting the destruction of his youthful sovereign. The better to carry out his schemes, he created quarrels among the officers of state; secretly fomenting their evil passions, and persuading them to waylay and murder each other. As he himself belonged to one of the tribes of Yemen, he had no difficulty in attaching to himself the chiefs of the Yemenite faction, which was then all-powerful. By their influence and support, he rose gradually into importance, and obtained complete mastery over the youthful caliph, forbidding the viziers to approach the person of their sovereign, except on particular days; and then they were only permitted to salute him from a distance and depart. He lavished gifts on the army; and without the slightest compunction destroyed all who attempted in any way to oppose his plans. This he did with the greatest caution and foresight; attaching Hisham's signature to all necessary documents and orders—of the contents of which the young caliph remained in utter ignorance; and so well had he contrived, that in a brief space of time he had completely rid himself of every one who stood in his way to preferment.

On one occasion this Mahomet had been despatched on an expedition against the Christians, and, on returning to Cordova, came back laden with trophies, such only as these early Islams could prize. Amongst other things were several horse-loads of

heads, carefully packed in strong canvas bags. One evening Mahomet, as was his custom at the conclusion of each day's journey, stood counting these precious relics, when, to his dismay and anger, there was a whole bag of heads missing. A tumult ensued, when it was discovered that a young warrior, burning for fame and glory, had fastened it behind his saddle and galloped off to the capital, intending to present it to the caliph before the arrival of Mahomet, and claim his praise for the skill he had displayed in mowing down so many foes; but for this enterprise the rash youth added his own head to the contents of the bag which he had carried with him:—an awful warning to all aspirants to these sanguinary honours. Some time afterwards it was observed that Hisham and Mahomet were not upon the most friendly terms; and the latter ascribing it to the intrigues of the servants of the palace, all of whom he caused to be displaced. About the same time he discovered that considerable sums had been abstracted by the ladies of the harem, one of whom had caused to be removed not less than one hundred sealed jars containing gold and silver, replacing them with others similarly labelled, but containing garlic, spice, pepper, drugs, and other requisites of an Oriental *cuisine*. The amount of money thus abstracted amounted to nearly eighty thousand dinars.—All this was recovered by Mahomet, with the rest of the royal treasury, amounting to five millions and seven hundred thousand dinars, and conveyed to a place of safety; where, being strictly guarded, they were placed beyond the reach of the harem's cupidity. Mahomet now sent messengers into Africa to

enlist as many Berber Arabs as they could induce to quit their native land by the attraction of liberal pay, honour, and promotion. These he divided into companies, commanded by his own chosen friends: and, this being done, he seized upon the person of Hisham, and concealed him from his subjects. He then usurped all the authority in the state; assuming every symbol of power, and causing himself to be addressed as a sovereign with the particular title of the Victorious Chamberlain. All letters, proclamations, and commands were now issued in the name of the usurper; and he, moreover, insisted that the usual prayer for royalty should be offered up in the mosques with his name. In a short time Hisham was barely heard of; while the usurper went on, from day to day, increasing his power—he led armies to the seat of war, and is said to have gained fifty-six decisive victories; by means of a powerful body-guard succeeding in invariably reducing to submission the most powerful conspirators. While thus flourishing in Spain, he had not remained idle with regard to Africa; but had dispatched crafty politicians, who laboured successfully in sowing the seeds of discord amongst the various Arab tribes; until, by perpetual quarrels between themselves, they eventually succeeded in undermining each other's power, and so fell an easy prey to the usurper, who became absolute ruler of Western Africa. In 360 of the Hegira, A.D. 982, he invested and destroyed some important posts in Galicia. In 363, one of the princes of Africa having spoken his mind as to the infamy of Mahomet keeping the real Caliph Hisham in a state of perpetual imprison-

ment, the usurper sent a considerable force under one of his own connexions to punish the inconsiderate man. After a long resistance this prince was obliged to yield at discretion and throw himself on the mercy of the usurper, by whose command he was immediately put to death. In the previous year, Mahomet had invaded Catalonia, passing through Valencia, and afterwards encountering and defeating King Borel, in sight of his capital, Barcelona, which city he carried by the sword, in May, 985, A.D. In 369 of the Hegira, A.D. 991, according to Ibnu-Hayyan, there arrived at Cordova an embassy from some great prince in Africa, bringing with him as presents many valuable rarities; of these he mentions two hundred superb horses, fifty dromedaries, one thousand shields, covered with hippopotamus' skin; bows and arrows made in the country of Zab, civet cats, giraffes, rhinoceroses, elephants, lions, leopards, and other like wild animals; one thousand loads of best dates, one hundred and fifty ostrich feathers, eight thousand pounds weight of the purest ivory, besides several loads of bornouses and other woollen cloth, manufactured in Africa. In the ensuing year, this African prince visited Cordova in person; bringing with him more rare and valuable presents; amongst other things, a parrot that could speak both Arabic and Berber—possibly the first that had ever found its way into Spain.—There was also a musk bull, a gnu, two immense lions in iron cages, and other extraordinary beasts. These gifts are recounted because they thus early develop the richness of that immense continent; the greater part of which remains to this day a

sealed mystery to civilized Europe ; but the immense importance of whose commerce might prove a speculation to a country which boasts, as England does, of its merchant princes. If such loads of ivory could at that early period be supplied, what must be the accumulation of that one beautiful article up to the present date—when we remember that, save just by the seashore, few merchants have penetrated, and that the gates of that immense and wealthy continent have been, so to say, closed upon the world.



## CHAPTER XXIV.

Defeat of Zegri—Account of Santiago—Attack on that city—  
March of the Moslem army—Santiago taken—Further suc-  
cesses—Valuable presents—Imbecility of Hisham—Invasion  
of Castile—Death of Mahomed Abdul-Malek—Al-Muizz—  
Abdul-Rahman usurps the throne—Deed of nomination.

Soon after the magnificent gifts recorded in the last chapter, the African prince Zegri Ibn Atiyah renounced his allegiance to Mahomed; and became one of his bitterest enemies. The former, to revenge this, deprived him at once of a pension which the caliphate had accorded him, and dispatched a powerful army, under the command of a Slavonian eunuch—who, landing at Tangiers, marched upon Fez; but, being encountered by Zegri, was defeated with great loss and compelled to fall back upon Tangiers. Furious at this reverse, Mahomed dispatched his own son, with a powerful army, who speedily changed the fortunes of the day; completely routing Zegri, who was driven into the interior of Africa, where he is said to have died in abject poverty. Mahomed took some of the most important towns in Galicia, overrunning and wasting the provinces of Alava and Pampolona. Heretofore, according to Ibnu Hayyan, Santiago had remained impregnable to the Moslems; but it was reserved to the usurper to overcome and expel its inhabitants. Therefore—

but let us quote the quaint language of the ancient Arab historian:—" *Shant Yakoh* (Santiago)," says he, "is a city in the most remote part of Galicia, and one of the chief sanctuaries of the Christians, not only of Andalus, but also of the surrounding countries; in short, what Jerusalem is in the East to the Eastern Christians. They regard the church of Santiago with the like veneration that the Moslems entertain for the Ka'bah at Mecca. Their Ka'bah is a colossal statue standing in the centre of the church. They swear by it, and repair thither on pilgrimages, even from Rome; as also from cities even more distant—pretending that the tomb which is to be seen within the church is that of Yakob (St. James), one of the twelve apostles, and the best beloved. The Christians call this James the brother of Jesus, because, whilst he lived, he was always with him. They say that he was Bishop of Jerusalem; and that he wandered over the earth, preaching the Christian religion, and calling upon the inhabitants to embrace it, until he reached this remote corner of Andalus: that he then returned to Syria, where he died at the age of one hundred and twenty years; and that after his death his body was brought to Santiago for interment. None of the sultans of Spain had ever thought of attempting the siege of Santiago, until, as already stated, the usurper took this difficult task in hand; for, from its inaccessible position, it was generally supposed to be impregnable. Mahomed left Cordova in the summer of the year, and entered the Christian territories by the city of Coria. On his arrival at the Galician capital, he was met by a considerable

number of Christian counts, who acknowledged his authority; and who, accompanied by their respective forces, joined the main body of the Moslem army, and crossed the frontier of the independent Christian powers. Prior to setting forth upon this expedition, the usurper had ordered a powerful fleet to be manned and equipped, for the carrying all necessary munitions and provisions, with a considerable body of infantry; which was to coast along till it came to Oporto; when, entering the Douro, it was to ascend this river; till it arrived at a spot previously indicated where the Moslem general was to cross the stream. In due time the fleet arrived at the rendezvous, and anchored opposite to a fortress. A bridge was constructed by the vessels, which enabled the Mahometan troops to cross over to the opposite bank; and they pursued their march towards Santiago; crossing rivers and estuaries into which the Atlantic poured its waters, and, traversing extensive districts, spread themselves over the rich and cultivated country, till they came to a high inaccessible mountain, the sides of which were so precipitous that even the most travelled amongst them confessed that they had never before witnessed the like. Pioneers were set to work; and in course of time, and after excessive labour, a path was hewn out by which the army passed. But the indefatigable zeal of the invaders, and their trouble, were well recompensed by discovering soon after crossing this mountain and the river Nuno, that they had entered upon a vast extent of fertile ground. At last, they reached the fortress of Sanpayo, which, after short resistance, was captured and plundered. The inhabitants had

taken refuge upon a small island near at hand; and here they were all made prisoners by the Moslems. Soon after they crossed the river Ulla, and two marches from thence brought them upon Santiago, which place they found utterly deserted, and whereof they took possession on the 10th August, A.D. 997. The church was razed to the ground; but the supposed tomb of Saint James was preserved, at the express command of the usurper. They say that all the buildings, which were remarkably elegant and solid, were as completely destroyed as though they had been shaken to their very foundations by some fearful convulsion of nature. After ravaging this district, the Moslems marched upon San Cosmo de Mayança, where the peninsula terminates abruptly upon the ocean; and here for a second time in the Calends of early Mahometan conquest, were the victorious forces of Islam compelled to pause, because the ocean prevented their further progress:—once, as will be remembered, when they reached the utmost limits of their African conquests; and now, when their European conquests were about to be brought to a close.

From this time the Mahometan power rapidly declined in Spain. At the conclusion of this campaign, Mahomed dismissed his Christian allies with many honours and valuable gifts. Of the gifts distributed amongst them, Ibnu Hayyan records two thousand two hundred and eighty-five pieces of silken stuffs, called tirazi, of various brilliant patterns and colours, twenty-one dresses of seal skin, two dresses of a precious stuff called aubar, eleven of scarlet cloth, fifteen cloaks, seven horse-cloths

made of brocade, two of Grecian manufacture, and two lined with weasel skin. And after that he had disbanded his Christian followers and allies, the usurper sent messengers to Cordova, announcing the victories which he had achieved. Soon after this the Moslem forces marched again into Cordova; laden with immense spoil, the plunder they had possessed themselves of in the cities of unoffending people. It is impossible to collect from Arabian writers the exact state of Hisham's mind, during his long confinement; but it would seem that he must have been little better than imbecile, for there were at no time wanting powerful friends—supporters of the house of Ommyah, who would have seen him righted, and who eventually insisted, soon after the victories just recorded, upon a public procession, where Hisham should display himself openly to the multitude; so that Mahomed, all-powerful as he was, felt constrained to comply with the wishes so loudly made known at Cordova. Accordingly, upon a fixed day, a magnificent procession passed through all the streets in the city, headed by Hisham, equipped in all the pomp of the caliphate, while Mahomed, with the wand of office in one hand, went on foot, leading the caliph's horse. This display of humility on his part was a master-stroke of policy. He convinced the public that he still knew the respective positions of himself and the caliph. It proved to them that Hisham was still alive, and actually caliph; but it also persuaded them that he placed unlimited faith and power in the hands of Mahomed—nor did they ever question what was more than probable, that the wretched Hisham was a mere ma-

chine in the hands of a crafty statesman, who, for his own interest, suffered him to live, and allowed him sustenance and amusement; for the house of Ommyah was yet far too powerful for Mahomet to hope to alienate the rightful succession; and many aspirants to the dignity of caliph in failure of its lineal inheritors were watching Mahomed's every movement. The last expedition of Mahomed, who is also known as Al-Mansur, was in the year of the Hegira 380, when he summoned from Africa a considerable body of troops, and at their head invaded Castile. On his return from this—said to be his fifty-second expedition against the Christians—Mahomed was seized with an acute disorder, which eventually occasioned his death; but though suffering severely from illness, he continued his wars till the very last moment, being carried upon soft cushions in a wooden litter. In this way he proceeded to Medina-celi, where his physicians, differing as to the cause of his malady, caused it to increase so rapidly, that he expired on the 25th day of Ramadan, in the year 380 of the Hegira, somewhere about August 7, A.D. 1002.

About two hours before the death of Mahomet, his son, Abdul-Malek, rode into Cordova in all haste, and communicated tidings of his father's expected dissolution to the Caliph Hisham; who, instead of rejoicing thereat, considering his hope of speedy liberation from a thralldom to which he had been subjected through many years, evinced still farther proof of imbecility, by giving way to excessive grief; and still further riveted the shackles of his chains, by advancing the son to the same high office, and

once more constituting himself a state prisoner for the remainder of his existence; though there were not wanting influential men who endeavoured to divert him from so great a folly, but whose advice was acknowledged after the usual practice, peculiar to these latter caliphs; they were strangled, poisoned or beheaded. One of the first acts of Abdul-Malek was to secure to himself, as his father had done before him, the homage of all those princes and provinces, either tributary or subject to the Moslem sway in Spain. Letters were received at the caliphate, from Al-Muizz, chief of the tribe of Maghrawah, son of that noted African prince, who, as has been already recorded, brought to Mahomet such magnificent gifts from Central Africa; but who eventually fell into disgrace and died in exile;—this prince wrote to inform Hisham that, by right of succession, he had become ruler of Fez and Western Africa; and, therefore, hastened to acknowledge Hisham as his liege lord. Abdul-Malek taking upon himself the organization of state affairs, granted Al-Muizz the investiture of Western Africa; but upon the special condition that his own name, preceding that of Hisham the caliph, should be proclaimed from all the pulpits of all the mosques in his dominions; that there should be annually sent to Cordova, for his especial behoof and benefit, one splendid steed and one shield, besides certain sums of money in token of vassalage; all which conditions the African prince agreed to fulfil, sending his son an hostage for his word. Abdul-Malek is said to have commanded eight expeditions against the Christians; but his reign, if victorious, was certainly

short, for he died in the year of the Hegira 386, A.D. 1008, and was succeeded in the office of chamberlain nominally, though in reality in the supreme power, by his brother Abdul-Rahman; yet, during this interval, Hisham was still alive, and still supposed to be caliph in Spain. The indulgences allowed him being limited to an occasional excursion to some of the gardens in the environs, in company with the ladies of his harem; upon which occasions, however, he was as carefully veiled and hooded as the fairest of his wives.

Abdul-Rahman at once openly assumed the title of Defender of the Faithful, setting aside at once the claims of the imbecile Hisham; whom he is said to have lashed into a state of abject submission, till he frightened him into the unnecessary ceremonial of publicly announcing him (Abdul-Rahman) heir and successor to the throne. This was accordingly done; and a formal deed drawn up and legalized, which at once constituted Abdul-Rahman caliph; but, as the result showed, he would have done well to content himself, as his father and brother before him had done, with the shadow of a title, whilst he enjoyed all the solid benefits of royalty, for he discovered his error when too late. The terms of this document were so singularly hypocritical, that we think ourselves justified in here inserting a verbatim copy, such as is said to have been drawn up by Abu-Hafas-Eben-Burd, a learned kateb or scribe of those days.

“Deed of Nomination.

“This is what the Caliph Hisham-al-Muyyedbillah, Commander of the Faithful, stipulates with the people of this country in general, and what he him-



self promises to observe and swears to fulfil, by placing his right hand upon the deed as upon a true and valid contract.

“After mature consideration, and long deliberation, after reflecting upon the heavy duties which God has imposed upon him as Imaum and Commander of the Faithful, the Caliph Hisham, son of the Caliph Al-Hakeem-Al-Mustanserbillah, and grandson of the Caliph Abdul-Rahman-Annasir-Lidin-Allah, fearing lest fate should strike him with that blow against which no mortal stands secure, and which no living creature has the power to avert, fearing lest death should assail him suddenly and take him by surprise, fearing, in short, that if he were to die, the people of this country would have no banner left under which they might flock, and no place of refuge to which they might run in case of need; knowing that, were he to present himself to his Creator, after so flagrant a dereliction of his duty, he would certainly incur His anger for having neglected the charge entrusted to him, and having gone astray from the path of righteousness and truth, has determined to select from among the Arabs of the tribe of Koraysh and others, having their domicile in this country, one worthy of having this empire transmitted to him as an inheritance, and of being entrusted with the prosperity and welfare of this nation; one whose piety, religion, honesty and good faith shall be notorious, one who shall be known to resist the temptations of sin and to follow the path of righteousness, by practising those duties which are acceptable to his God. After searching, there-

fore, high ranks as well as low, the caliph has found none more deserving to be appointed his successor, or to become the heir to the caliphate at his death, than the trustworthy, honest, and beloved Abdul-Motref, son of Al-Mansur-Ibn-Abi-Amir Mahomet. May God prosper him! And the caliph has been induced to make this choice owing to the brilliant qualities which grace the said person, the generosity of his soul, the greatness of his origin, and the nobility of his descent; his piety, his prudence, his wisdom, his talents, all of which the caliph knows him to possess, as he has watched him and put him more than once to the trial, and has upon every occasion found him ready to do a good act, and to be the first in the path of righteousness, or to surmount any obstacles however great in the prosecution of good purposes; since, in short, he knows him to unite in his own person every good quality. But are we to wonder that a man, who had Al-Mansur for a father, and Al-Modaffah for a brother, should surpass every one in virtue, and exceed all in generosity?

“Another no less weighty consideration has moved the Commander of the Faithful to take this step, viz., that whilst perusing works on the occult sciences, and turning over the inestimable treasures contained in them, he has discovered that he was to be succeeded in the command of the country by an Arab of the race of Kahttan, respecting whom there exists a well-authenticated tradition preserved by Abdullah-Ibn-Amru-Ibn-Ass and Abu-Horeyzah, both of whom ascribe the following words to the prophet.”—

## CHAPTER XXV.

Deed of nomination, *continued*—Insurrection at Cordova—Abdul-Rahman beheaded—Ill-treatment of the Berbers—Murder of Hisham and his brother—Escape of Suleyman—Defeat of the caliph—His death and character—Cordova taken and sacked—Dissensions with the Berbers—Revolt of Ali—Defeat and death of Suleyman—Accession of Ali—His impartiality—Anecdote of him—The caliph's severity.

*"THE time shall come, when a man of the stock of Kahttan will drive men before him with a stick.* Finding, therefore, no person to whom these words can be better applied, knowing that everything that is good is centred in the person of the above-named, and that he is, moreover, ornamented with every brilliant quality, that he has no rivals or opponents, but, on the contrary, every one in this country looks up to him for direction, the caliph entrusts to him the administration of affairs during his lifetime, and bequeaths to him the empire after his death. And this the Commander of the Faithful does of his own free will, and in the presence of witnesses, called for that purpose, and as such orders it to be transmitted and communicated to his subjects, without any second thought or restriction, pledging himself in public as well as in private, by word and deed, by the command of God and by his promises, by the

protection of his messenger Mahomet, and that of the four legitimate caliphs who were his ancestors, and his own share in the intercession, to fulfil it in all its parts, and not swerve, change, wander, or fall aside in any part of it, taking God and his angels to witness of the truth of his words, and that he bequeaths his empire and transfers his sayings and doings to the here-present Al-Mamun-Abul-Motref-Abdul-Rahman, son of Al-Mansur—May God prosper him!—who accepts what is given to him, and binds himself to fulfil the duties imposed on him.”

The recording of the foregoing unparalleled specimen of hypocritical cant and political fraud, duly took place in the month of Rabi, 386 of the Hegira, equivalent to November, A.D. 1008, the viziers, cadis, and other people present witnessing the act by their signatures, and from that moment Abdul-Rahman was acknowledged and termed Wali-La-Ahd—heir presumptive to the empire.

Soon after his obtaining supreme power, Abdul-Rahman absented himself from Cordova, for the purpose of quelling some insurrection; but while thus occupied, mischief was brewing in the capital itself; for an insurrection broke out so suddenly, that the commander of the royal guards was surprised and slain before any alarm could be given, and then the person of the unfortunate Hisham seized. In his stead was proclaimed a cousin, whose name was also Mahomet-Ibn-Hisham. Tidings of this outbreak having been speedily conveyed to Abdul-Rahman, he hastened back with all speed to Cordova; but when he approached that capital, he found to his dismay that most of his troops deserted

him ; and the principal Berber officers, whom he had signally favoured, were the first to swear allegiance to his enemy. Nor were they contented with this act of treachery ; for, hastening back in numbers to the deserted camp of Abdul-Rahman, they seized and beheaded him ; thus bringing to a speedy end his dreams of ambition. Mahomet was now duly proclaimed caliph and emir ; and one of the first acts of his government was to cast Hisham into a dungeon, causing it to be publicly bruited about that that wretched prince was dead ; and then he caused to be massacred all those chiefs who had been favourites of Abdul-Rahman. Now broke out a civil feud between two of the most powerful Mahometan parties in Spain, viz. the Beni Ommyah and the Berbers. The former hated the latter cordially, because to their countenance and assistance was mainly attributable the usurpation of the royal power by Mahomet-Al-Mansur and his two sons. Had it not been that from a sense of mutual danger the Berbers were combined together, they would all assuredly have been destroyed. As it was, the rabble of Cordova hooted and pelted them in the streets ; and by their clamour insisted upon the new caliph issuing a decree, similar to a firman, which was in full force till within the last fifteen years with respect to Christians in Turkey. This decree prohibited the Berbers from bearing arms, or riding through the streets of Cordova ; but besides the insult thus publicly offered them, upon one occasion some chiefs of the Berbers being absent at the palace upon duty, on returning home found to their anger and surprise that the rabble, profiting by their

absence, had attacked and pillaged their houses. Furious at this, they demanded immediate satisfaction from the caliph; and this latter, too timid to avow openly his dislike to their race, caused the ringleaders in the assault to be put to death. Yet with all this, the caliph let no opportunity escape of wreaking his hatred upon the Berbers; and they, aware of his dislike, and having been informed by their spies of some plot which he was contriving for their general massacre, resolved in private to dethrone the caliph, and to proclaim in his stead a prince of the house of Ommyah, whose name was Hisham, son of Suleyman. Their meetings however were discovered by a few citizens, who resolved upon crushing the plot without a moment's delay; neither did it require much persuasion on their part to instigate the whole populace against them; and they, unexpectedly arming, attacked the Berbers in their own cantonments, and expelled them from the city; which being done, the unfortunate Hisham, son of Suleyman, and his still more innocent brother (upon both of whom the proposed honours of royalty appear to have been forced) were dragged before the caliph, who could not restrain his thirst for vengeance, even during the few minutes that must elapse in summoning the public executioner, but with his own sword performed the hateful office.

Suleyman, a nephew of the murdered princes, escaped in disguise from Cordova, and repaired to the Berbers, who had pitched their camp close to the outskirts of the city from which they had been expelled, and from whence they swore not to stir

until they had revenged the insult. The arrival of the young Suleyman was hailed with delight ; and they immediately proclaimed him caliph, swearing allegiance to him, and imploring him at once to lead them against their enemies ; but the young prince, who was possessed of more caution and reflection, besought them to desist from any present attempt, as the time for vengeance had not yet arrived ; and the citizens of Cordova were too much upon their guard, and too well prepared for a defence, to admit of their success. They accordingly retired to the frontiers of Toledo, where Suleyman obtained reinforcements from the son of Alphonso ; thus prepared, they advanced by forced marches upon Cordova ; and hearing of their approach, the caliph, at the head of the troops and citizens, marched out to encounter them. A fierce battle raged, in which upwards of twenty thousand Cordovans were slain, and the victory gained by Suleyman and the Berbers. After this, they advanced upon Cordova, and took possession of that city without the slightest opposition. The caliph had fled to Toledo, where he obtained the assistance of that very son of Alphonso who had but just contributed to his defeat,—and this time the caliph regained possession of his capital, and Suleyman and the Berbers scattered themselves upon the plains, committing all manner of depredations, and subsisting as the wild tribes of Arabia to the present day subsist, upon pillage. Eventually, they retired to Algesiras, whither they were followed by the caliph and his Christian allies ; but this time the Berbers were again victorious, and the assail-

ants fell back upon Cordova, in the utmost confusion. Hereupon the usurper produced the wretched imbecile, Hisham, from the dungeon where he had been confined, and, introducing him to the people, made them swear allegiance to him, laying down all the power he had usurped, and reserving to himself nothing but the honour of the office of chamberlain.

With his characteristic cruelty and cowardice, this man had retained all that he had usurped of the powers and pleasures of royalty, so long as he was successful; but he shrunk back in the hour of retribution, and brought forward his victim. It was, however, too late. His way had been hedged in on every side. The cry of those two innocent princes for retribution was about to be responded to—Suleyman and the Berbers appeared before the walls of Cordova; and one of the caliph's own courtiers, hoping by the act to spare further bloodshed, rushed into the presence of his master, and slew him on the instant. Thus perished Mahomet-Al-Muhdi; and even the historians of his own immediate race reproach his memory, for they say, "He was a man of depraved morals, a tyrannical ruler, and a shedder of blood."

One token of his cruelty is the fact that he had a garden ornamented, as we ornament our gardens with shells and statues, with the heads of his enemies upon stakes driven into the ground. Meanwhile, although the cause of all this miserable warfare now lay a headless trunk, the siege of Cordova continued with unabated fury; neither party seemed for days to possess the advantage. The fields and farm-houses in the



suburbs had been laid waste by the besiegers, and the citizens had now to contend with the horrors of famine. At length, after a protracted siege, Suleyman became master of the capital, on Monday, the sixth Shaw-wal, in the year 891 of the Hegira, A.D. 1018; a general massacre ensued; and amongst other victims was the unfortunate Hisham; who, harmless and imbecile though he was, was destined after years of imprisonment to meet with a wretched and violent end, being strangled by some of the vanquishers. The houses of the inhabitants were sacked and profaned; daughters and wives violated; the wealthy reduced to poverty, and the most magnificent buildings razed to the ground. Having achieved this destruction Suleyman thought his empire secure: but herein he was grievously mistaken; for, where he least expected it, new competitors started up, and he had soon to contend against those very Berber chiefs who had mainly contributed to his accession, and who upon this, as upon every other occasion, seem to have displayed the same variable disposition that to this day distinguishes these very tribes and many of their descendants, now scattered over the wilds of Arabia. The Berbers and African slaves possessed themselves of large towns and populous districts, so that Andalus was, in course of time, divided and subdivided into petty principalities. Among the chiefs who adhered to the fortunes of Suleyman were two remarkable men—Al-Kasim and Ali;—these two, with their troops, had aided greatly in establishing Suleyman upon the throne, and, to reward these and others, Suleyman partitioned his kingdom amongst them,

making them at the same time tributary and subject to his own rule. In the course of time Suleyman had bitter cause to regret this division; as one after another the petty princes shook off his allegiance, till at last even his stanch friend Ali deserted him. Superstition, and a blind belief in astrology, urged him on in the pursuit of self-aggrandizement; for some sycophant had assured him that the wretched caliph Hisham had been addicted to stargazing, and had discovered that the dynasty of the Beni Ommyah was destined soon to be extinct in Spain, and that this Ali was predestined to be his successor. Such being the nature of his discovery, Hisham left a message behind him for Ali to the effect that should he, Ali, ever come to the caliphate he hoped he would revenge his death by the destruction of Suleyman. Led on by this prophècy, in which he and his followers placed implicit faith, Ali left the government of his province, which was in Africa, in the hands of his son, and, landing at Andalus, where he was joined by the governor of Almeira, they with their forces marched upon Cordova; causing it to be publicly known that the object of their mission was to avenge the death of the unfortunate Hisham. Suleyman hearing of their approach, went forward to meet them at the head of his choicest troops, and a severe battle ensued, in which, however, the latter was worsted; and himself and brother falling into the hands of the conqueror, they were carried to Cordova, and there, together with their father, publicly executed. This happened the third year after Suleyman's first entry into Cordova.

Ali, on ascending the throne, assumed the name

of An-nasar, and was styled Defender of the Faith. He speedily checked the Berber soldiers, who, of late years, had committed with impunity atrocious outrages upon the peaceable inhabitants of Cordova; and he succeeded by a salutary 'rigour in reintroducing that discipline and justice which had now for many years been disused in the Mahometan possessions in Spain. According to ancient oriental usage, Ali was wont, on stated days and at stated hours of the day, to sit at the gate of the city, where he would in person administer justice and consider appeals; and on many such occasions numerous Berber soldiers were brought before him accused of the most heinous crimes; though partially inclined towards these people, he would not allow this feeling to bias him on their behalf; for he was aware that discord had so long ruled in Spain, and especially in Cordova, that nothing less than an iron rule could restore peace and order. Those who were convicted, after a fair and impartial trial, were immediately beheaded in presence of himself, of their own tribes, and of their relations and friends. One anecdote is related by an eyewitness of the stern justice administered by Ali, who, at the same time, had about as much right to the caliphate as the humblest offender brought before him. Horrible though it be, we get familiar in studying Moslem history with the like barbarities; and it only serves to show how little value was in those rude times set upon life. "One day, as was Ali's custom, he was riding through one of the principal gateways of Cordova, when he encountered a Berber on horseback, carrying before him a

whole pannier-load of grapes, which had evidently formed the burthen of some poor peasant's ass. 'Stop! friend,' cried the caliph, 'how did you come by those delicious-looking grapes?' To this interrogation, the Berber replied, without the slightest hesitation, that he *had seized them like a man*—meaning thereby that he had seized upon them like a thief.—Hereupon, Ali made a signal to his guards, and two seconds afterwards the caliph was pursuing his morning ride, whilst the trunkless head of the unhappy robber was by Ali's order placed over the grapes on the horse's back, and so paraded through all the streets of Cordova."

So, for eighteen months, Ali ruled without interruption. No man in Cordova could satisfy himself, when he got up in the morning, that he would go to bed again with his head on his shoulders; for, of a truth, in the whole population from the highest to the lowest there was hardly one who, had he had his deserts, would not have met under such an administration as Ali's a fate similar to that of the luckless grape-stealer. And the only difference between the caliph and the governors and the people, seems to have been illustrated by the answer which the brigand or pirate gave to Alexander the Great. The one robbed and murdered publicly, and was styled and rewarded as a conqueror; the other privately, and they were termed and punished as criminals.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

Death of Ali, and accession of Al-Kasim—Arabian manners—Family customs—The Berbers support Al-Kasim—His just government—Civil war—Plot of Zawi Ibn Zeyri—Abdul-Rahman betrayed—Taken and beheaded—Revolt of Yahya—Flight of the caliph—Unpopularity of Yahya—Return of the caliph—He is defeated—Attack on Xerez—The caliph taken and executed.

UPON the death of Ali, his brother Al-Kasim succeeded to the caliphate. This man was ten years older than Ali, who had left two sons—Yahya, then governor of Tangiers, Teuta, and other districts of Africa; the other, Idris, also then governor of Malaga. The elder of these sons was indisputably the heir to his father's titles and possessions; but even at that early period governments were divided into parties, and the people had a voice—a powerful one, too—in the administration of public affairs. On the present occasion they were exceedingly divided—some of the Berbers favouring the brother, others the son, of the late caliph; but the greater part were in favour of the former; and for this show of partiality towards Al-Kasim, there were, at least with an Arab, two stringent motives: in the first place, he was an elder brother of the lately-deceased caliph, and, in the opinion of many should have preceded him in the caliphate. This attribution of

precedence and honours to seniority has ever been prevalent, not among the Arabs only, but among all the people of the East. So powerful and so salutary is this principle, that to the present day whole families dwell together, inhabiting the same tent or hut, and living upon terms of the greatest cordiality and regard. Such examples are unfortunately rare, if not entirely unknown, in Europe; but it is not uncommon that two, three, and even four generations should live in perfect harmony under one roof. Of this I have known instances among the more respectable native Christians of Aleppo; where it is not rare to find, seated at their evening's meal, the master of the house—venerable, yet hale withal—with his equally aged partner in life, while, ranged on either side of the table, in regular gradation, come the sons and their wives, the daughters and their husbands, the sons' sons and their wives, and the daughters' daughters and their husbands—the whole of this happy family assemblage terminating in some half dozen not over romantic—decidedly not over cleanly nor over clothed—great grandchildren, up to their elbows in butter and molasses. The exclusive rules of the harem, however, prohibit the meeting of brothers and sisters, or even fathers and daughters (except when the children are yet infants) meeting at the same board, or indeed living under the same roof; yet there exists even to the present hour that tacit acknowledgment for each one's respective position in life which is essential to the enjoyment of affection and tranquillity. For instance, on an oriental father entering his own house, all present rise up; nor will they be seated

again till the patriarch has taken his place, and signals to the others his permission. Younger brothers pay the same respect to their elders, youth to old age, and the female sex to the male, of whatever rank or age, excepting only the happy epoch of infancy. Thus we see one motive why the Berbers were influenced in the choice of a caliph, and preferred the uncle to the nephew; but they had another cogent reason for choosing Al-Kasim—that he was within a few miles of Cordova when Ali's death occurred, whereas Yahya was hundreds of miles away, and the sea between himself and the caliphate.

On first receiving intelligence of the death of his brother, and of the wish of the troops that he should succeed to the supreme command, Al-Kasim evinced no symptoms of pleasure; but sending the messenger to prison, where he lived some time upon bread and water, and the expectation of being hanged from one hour to another, he dispatched trusty friends to inquire into the real state of affairs; and finding the report confirmed, he marched—first, we hope, liberating the unlucky messenger—upon Cordova without further delay; and duly arriving there, was proclaimed caliph on the sixth day after his brother's death.

Al-Kasim's administration was said to have been mild and just; and he strengthened himself upon the throne by purchasing an immense number of black slaves, whom he formed into a body-guard, entrusting many of them with the government of the provinces; but this measure, though it served for a time to secure his position, greatly excited the in-

dignation of the Berbers. Meanwhile also the people of Andalus, who detested the rule of the house of Ali, were flocking from all parts to swell the ranks of one Abdul-Rahman-Al-Merwani, who had risen in the eastern parts of Islam Spain, and become a candidate for the honours of the caliphate. This man was the son of Mahomet, the son of Abdul-Malek, son of the great Abdul-Rahman-Annasir-Lidinillah, the ninth sultan of the house of Ommyah.

The people of Cordova rejoiced to hear of the proclamation made by this Abdul-Rahman; and very speedily he had so well strengthened his position, that he ventured to march upon Cordova itself; but Al-Kasim went out to meet him. Treachery seems to have entered the camp of Abdul-Rahman; and one of his generals is said to have exclaimed to another, "Methinks that Abdul-Rahman does not put on the same face at the head of a powerful army, as when he was weak and needed our assistance. Be sure that this wily man is meditating some treason against us." Accordingly these two generals sent private dispatches to Zawi-Ibn-Zeyri, a brave and enterprising Berber chief, who during the civil commotions in Andalus had made himself master of Granada and the surrounding districts. To him they offered, provided he would attack Abdul-Rahman on the way to Cordova, the services of themselves and all the troops of Arragon, including the freedmen and adherents of the Beni Amir. To this proposition Zawi readily assented, the whole plan of operations being duly concerted between them. Abdul-Rahman, on arriving before the walls



of Granada, summoned Zawi and his followers to swear allegiance to him, little imagining the treason that was lurking in his own camp. The letter of Abdul-Rahman was read to Al-Kasim by a public scribe; and he, in reply, caused the reader to inscribe on the back a quotation from the Koran, which ran thus: "Ia ayyoha-l-kafruna" (O ye unbelievers!), and thus returned it to Abdul-Rahman, who, on receipt thereof, wrote the following reply:—  
"Beware; for I am marching against thee with the bravest warriors of this country, and assisted by the Franks:" concluding his letter with a quotation from an Arabian poet, "If thou be one of us, I can announce to thee prosperity and success; if the contrary, thou wilt soon experience every calamity." On this letter being read to Zawi, he directed his secretary to turn over to the fly leaf, and write upon it the whole of the following chapter from the Koran:—

"(CII.)

"The emulous desire of multiplying riches and children employeth you until ye visit the grave. By no means should ye thus employ your time. Hereafter shall ye know your folly. By no means: hereafter shall ye know your folly. By no means; if ye knew the consequence hereof with certainty of knowledge, you would not act thus. Verily, ye shall see hell; again, ye shall surely see it with the eye of certainty; then shall ye be examined on that day concerning the pleasures with which ye have amused yourselves in this life."

The indignation of Abdul-Rahman was aroused by this impertinence; and so furious was he, that he

gave up all ideas of following up his original plan of assault, and in lieu of marching against Al-Kasim, deviated from the line of march, and attacked Zawi in Granada; for some days hostilities raged with unabated fury; at last, Zawi despairing of the succour promised him, sent a reminder to the two generals; and they indicated a signal, by which their combined forces might unite to annihilate the power of Abdul-Rahman. Zawi was to charge with the main body of his cavalry upon the body-guard that surrounded Abdul-Rahman: this latter, when the attack took place, fought desperately, but unavailingly. One by one the standards of his generals were lowered, and they deserted to the camp of the enemy. They who adhered to his cause were slaughtered with fearful havoc. Abdul-Rahman fled in consternation; and though he succeeded for a time in concealing himself from his enemies, spies scented out his retreat, and the unhappy man was taken when upon the point of embarking for Africa—beheaded, and his head sent as a trophy to Almeira, where it was presented to the two generals who had betrayed his interest and life.

The battle concluded, all Andalus tendered its submission to Al-Kasim; and the tent of the ill-starred Abdul-Rahman was pitched upon the banks of the Guadalquivir—a lesson to the rebellious Cordovans how empty is earthly ambition, whether crowned with success, or, as in the present instance, shadowed with hours of anxiety and a cruel death. Al-Kasim continued for a space to govern in comparative peace, displacing most of his brother's protégés, and appointing in their room those negro

slaves that he himself had purchased and trained to love and respect him. Yahya took advantage of this to stir up the discontented to revolt. His brother Idris, governor of Malaga, dispatched to his aid as many vessels as he could assemble; these, in addition to what Yahya had himself collected, proved sufficient for an attack upon Al-Kasim, and he accordingly landed his forces at Malaga. Here, soon after his arrival, he received letters from Khayran, one of those generals who had dealt so treacherously by Abdul-Rahman, and who professed to desire the friendship of the son of him who had promoted him from the lowest grades to the exalted rank he then held. Idris, the brother of Yahya and governor of Malaga tried to dissuade this latter from the folly of relying on one who had proved himself a traitor and falsifier of his own promise. To these suggestions Yahya gave little heed. "*Well, if it be so,*" was his reply, "*we must manage him so as to make his arts and his treasons useful to us.*" Yahya had sufficient confidence in the promised assistance of the Berbers to induce him to dispense with all other aid. Accordingly he sent Idris to take his place as governor in Africa, and then marched to attack his uncle at Cordova. This latter, however, waited not his arrival, but fled the capital secretly; and at night, accompanied by only five servants, arrived at Seville. Soon after Yahya entered triumphantly into Cordova, and was at once proclaimed caliph. Yahya, so soon as he was duly enthroned, assumed the haughtiness which so invariably distinguishes an upstart. He boasted of descent, it is true, from Fatimah, the daughter

of the prophet; but his ancestors—his father and uncle—were, in every sense of the term, usurpers. Still his lineage had a great deal to do with his then actual position; for such was the infatuation of the Moslems, that any one with the blood of the prophet's family in their veins was revered with a superstitious regard. However, Yahya became so proud that he neglected the courtesies due to those old and influential members attached to his court, and which alone could give stability to his throne. This conduct created great dissatisfaction; and every Berber, princes and chiefs, gradually withdrew from Cordova. Meanwhile, the people of Malaga had risen in a body—Idris, their governor, was absent in Africa—and the power of Yahya extended no further than his seraglio walls. So he, like his uncle, deserted his post, and followed by a few faithful adherents fled to Malaga, leaving the caliphate unoccupied. On hearing this, the uncle aroused his dormant courage, and marched with a powerful army upon Cordova, and was once again re-established upon the Moslem throne. Not long, however, to rule in quiet—civil war and discord speedily followed his restoration. The black slaves adhered to his cause; but the Berbers wavered, and finally quitted him. Meanwhile a third party was plotting the restoration of the Ommyah dynasty; but Al-Rassur, when these tidings reached him, ordered out his spies in every direction; and all those who, unfortunately for themselves, had kindred claim or friendship with the proscribed race, were condemned to immediate death. But Yahya was still on the alert; he fitted out an expedition at

Malaga, and besieged and took Algesiras, a place that still favoured his uncle. His brother Idris also besieged and took Tangiers, a city which Al-Kasim had carefully fortified. Soon after this, the Berbers and Cordovans came to blows; when Al-Kasim and the former were overpowered and compelled to evacuate the city. Fifty days was the city consecutively assaulted, but with slight effect. At length the citizens, finding provisions scarce, determined to make a final assault—to die or to conquer in the sally; accordingly they made a combined and furious attack; the Berbers were utterly routed, in the year of the Hegira 401, A.D. 1028. This defeat scattered the forces of Al-Kasim—some fled to Seville, some to Malaga. When Al-Kasim had returned from Seville to reassume the caliphate, he left his son Mahomed in command of that city, assisted by two viziers in whom Al-Kasim placed implicit confidence. One of these, Ibn-Zeyri, an ambitious man, aspired to the supreme power; accordingly, when misfortunes overtook his patron, and he flying from the battle-field sought refuge at Seville, this Ibn-Zeyri exerted his influence with the citizens, and caused them to shut the city gates upon the defeated refugee and his followers. These endeavoured to force an entrance; and several skirmishes ensued, wherein both blacks and Berbers suffered considerable loss. At length Al-Kasim, desperate to find both parties who had mainly contributed to his support thus destroying each other through the intrigues of his son's late vizier, determined upon raising the siege. He accordingly sent ambassadors charged with propositions for peace; the terms were,

that if his son and family were safely delivered into his hands, he and his followers would retire from before Seville. These terms were agreed to, and Al-Kasim and his forces retired to Xerez; but scarcely had he rested himself and his weary troops, before his nephew at the head of a considerable force marched from Malaga and attacked him in this stronghold. For twenty days Al-Kasim defended himself bravely, but in vain; the people of Xerez, tired out by the hardships of warfare, surrendered the city to Yahya and his generals. The blacks were scattered, and fled in all directions; and Al-Kasim and his son Mahomed, unable in the confusion that ensued to effect their escape, fell into the hands of their incensed relative; when, as appears to have been the invariable sequel to captivity, amongst those barbarous people, the unhappy uncle was ultimately strangled by order of Yahya, after a loathsome imprisonment, embittered with the daily menaces of death, uttered by Yahya—contrary to the advice of his best counsellors—so surely as he became intoxicated with the strong liquors in which he indulged every afternoon.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

Cruelty of Yahya—Rival candidates for the throne—Abdul-Rahman elected—Discontents of his subjects—He is assassinated—Succeeded by Mahomet—Hisham—Civil discord—Death of Hisham—Yahya murdered—Accession of Idris—He attacks the chief of Seville—His death—Succeeded by Yahya the Second—Al-Ali-Billah—Mahomed—Idris—Malaga plundered—Successive usurpers—Alphonso the Sixth—His victories over the Moslems—His insulting request, and death of the messenger.

BEFORE the unfortunate Al-Kasim met with his violent end, as has been already related, his cruel nephew subjected him to every suffering and insult that a wicked imagination could devise. We have seen that his best and wisest counsellors could not dissuade him; and it is even said by Arabian historians that Yahya, in his drunken fits or half-sober dreams, was warned, according to that debauched prince's own declarations, not to treat thus barbarously his rival uncle. "Al-Kasim was my own brother," so spoke to Yahya's fevered imagination the spirit of his dead father; "*my own brother*—he loved me when a child, and whilst I commanded this country I found him faithful to my rule. I adjure thee by Allah, that thou have mercy on him." The spectre evoked by Yahya's conscience appealed for his mercy in vain. Not

wanting at his court—at what court, indeed, were such ever wanting?—were parasites and persecutors, who flatter the wicked man in his power and oppress the unfortunate in their weakness. So Al-Kasim fell, the victim of his own ambition and his nephew's implacable hatred. Meanwhile the citizens of Cordova remained without any recognized leader; and daily deliberated amongst themselves whom they should choose for caliph. On the fifteenth of the month of Ramadan, the princes of the house of Ommyah presented themselves as candidates for the vacant honour; these were, Abdul-Rahman the son of Hisham, Suleyman the son of Al-Mur-tedi, and another not specified. At first Suleyman counted most votes, and even the deed of inauguration is stated to have been duly prepared; but Abdul-Rahman prevailed, and was duly proclaimed caliph, under the title of Al-Mustad'har (he who implores the assistance of God); hereupon Al-Mustad'har, or Abdul-Rahman the Fourth, rode into Cordova in grand procession, accompanied by his two rivals who were also his kinsmen; and, so soon as he had entrenched himself within his own citadel, he cast them both into prison. Immediately on his accession he raised several of his partisans to the highest offices in the caliphate, and also installed them as privy councillors, allowing them unprecedented distinctions. He was a patron of the literature prevalent in those days; and patronized writers of satire, grossly offensive to his courtiers, and in the sequel ruinous to his own position. The ulemas and viziers, the doctors of Mahometan theology, took grave offence at his licentious habits;



the lower classes were easily excited to rebel against him ; and their chief charge was, his waste of the resources of the province—his neglect of state affairs—his time devoted to poets and sycophants. How many parallels of this early Islam chief may be found amongst the rulers of later times and of more civilized countries, let history narrate.

Mahomed the Second, then known as Abu-Muran, was amongst the state prisoners when Abdul-Rahman the Fourth came to the throne. Against the advice of his most influential counsellors, he liberated this man ; and no sooner was he released from captivity than he began to plot the destruction of his liberator. He soon found partisans for his cause. The affairs of state were neglected—justice was suspended in its course, and the nominal ruler of the people regardless of his duty as a magistrate and a prince. So the Berbers rose up ; Abdul-Rahman, like too many of his predecessors, came to a violent end, being assassinated, after a short and frivolous reign of only two months' duration, in his twenty-third year. Mahomet, his successor, ruled for sixteen months after his elevation to power ; he died a fugitive, at Aragon. Meanwhile Yahya, having left a trustworthy general at Cordova, repaired to Malaga, where he made great preparations for invading the territories of the chief of Seville ; but the inhabitants of Cordova rose upon his lieutenant and his Berber troops, and a fierce conflict raged in the streets ; the Berbers and their leader were expelled, and Hisham, a prince of the house of Ommyah, was proclaimed caliph. Hisham was then a refugee at Aragon ; but he speedily hastened to Cordova,

whence, having taken the necessary oaths, he returned to Aragon and remained there during three years. At the close of this period, civil war broke out amongst the petty chieftains of Islam Spain; nevertheless they agreed amongst themselves to recognize Cordova as the head-quarters of Mahometan authority in Spain; and, upon the decree being made known in that city, the inhabitants sent a deputation to Hisham soliciting him to come and rule over them as caliph; and he accordingly returned to the seat of his government at the close of the year 407 of the Hegira, A.D. 1029. Arabian historians say that Hisham possessed many attractive qualities—that he was mild in temper and brilliant in wit; but, say they, had an angel from heaven descended to settle among them, the inhabitants of Cordova would have found cause for discontent—and so it was with the mild and amiable Hisham. In two short years the army rebelled and deposed him; and in six short years afterwards he died at Lerida, whither he had retired immediately after his expulsion. He was the last of that illustrious dynasty which had ruled over Andalusia and a great part of Africa through two hundred and eighty-four years, counting from the accession of Abdul-Rahman the First, in the 138th year of the Hegira.

In this interval Yahya had been far from idle, nor had he lost all hopes of repossessing his capital and punishing the prince who had established himself at Seville, and thrown off the yoke of the caliph. He kept his army perpetually on the move; besieging cities, and annoying their inhabitants to such an extent that the people of Cordova were forced to

submit themselves to his sway; so Yahya's power seemed apparently to be on the increase; but his ambition knew no check, and he marched upon Seville to attack its chief, his long and inveterate enemy. That chieftain, however, employed agents in Yahya's camp; and his own soldiers turned against him and murdered him, near Carmona. The people sent to Centa, to invite his brother Idris to come and receive the succession. Idris accordingly came, and was immediately proclaimed Commander of the Faithful, with the additional title of "Confirmed by the grace of God." Idris's accession was proclaimed in Ronda and its dependencies, in Almeira and in Algeiras, as also amongst his own friends and people at Centa and Tangiers. To these latter he intrusted the government of his own nephew Hassan. The first care of the new caliph was to revenge his brother's death; and he accordingly sent a powerful army to make war upon the chief of Seville. Here, after some sharp encounters, his arms were successful; and Idris received intelligence of the victory gained by the symbol, among barbarous people, indicative of such successes—the head of his late brother's implacable foe and assassin carefully packed in a basket. But his excess of joy on beholding this proof of his accomplished vengeance brought on a malady, which in two days killed him. The army now proclaimed Yahya the Second, a son of Idris and nephew of his namesake, caliph at Cordova; but he did not at this period assume the command, because Hassan was proclaimed by a more powerful party. Yahya, conse-

quently, fearing the vengeance of his rival, fled to the fortress of Comores. Within three years Hassan was poisoned by a female cousin, the daughter of Idris, whose son's throne he had usurped. Then ensued a deadly conflict among various aspirants to the vacant throne. Of these one, named Naja, a eunuch, seems to have been most successful; but when on the eve of realizing his ambition, he was assassinated by the Berbers, who took Idris out of prison in Malaga, and proclaimed him, under the title of Al-Ali-Billah—the exalted by the grace of God. This event occurred towards the close of the year 421 of the Hegira, A.D. 1043. The authority of Idris was now acknowledged in Granada and Carmona. His reign lasted about four years; when a revolt broke out, which ended in his dethronement and the accession of his cousin Mahomed, who died within six years. To him succeeded a nephew, by name Idris: but this youth was never properly enthroned; for the uncle, Idris-Al-Ali, who had been dethroned by Mahomed, and thereupon had shut himself up in Comores, marched upon Malaga; and taking possession of that city after a fierce conflict, he gave it up for plunder to his followers and slaves, in revenge for the injuries and insults at one time heaped upon him by the inhabitants, who had abandoned their possessions and fled to distant parts of Spain. Upon Idris-Al-Ali's death, he was succeeded by Mahomed, a son of Idris (not Al-Ali), who after three years was dethroned by the King of Granada. After the loss of his kingdom, Mahomed retired to Almeira; where he lived in seclu-

sion until the people of Melika invited him to dwell among them as their chief; and there he abided until his death.

While the throne of the caliphs was tottering upon its base, and rapidly filled with successive usurpers and tyrants, the city of Algesiras was under the sway of princes of the same family as the caliph Al-Kasim. During the imprisonment of Al-Kasim at Malaga, a son of his, named Mahomed, had shared his captivity, but effected his escape and fled to Algesiras; of which city and the neighbouring districts he assumed the sway. Here he remained in power up to his death, which occurred in 440 of the Hegira; and he was then succeeded by his son, another Al-Kasim, who also reigned in tranquillity up to his death. Then the city fell into the hands of the lord of Seville.

Seven years seem to have elapsed from the death of the last caliph of the house of Ommyah, without any certain form of government having been established; for rival caliphs appear to have risen in various departments of Islam Spain: the fact was, that the last convulsive shocks of civil discord had shaken the Mahometan dynasty to its very foundation. Alphonso the Sixth had now united under his sway all the Christian provinces of Andalusia. Being well acquainted with the difficulties and dissensions of the Mahometan states, he formed the design of subjecting, one after another, all the minor provinces, until he should be equal to the enterprise of expelling the invaders, who for more than four centuries had held supreme sway over Spain, and subjected her Christian population to the most abject

and afflicting slavery. After a seven years' siege, he succeeded in overcoming the Prince of Toledo, wrenching from him his provinces and making himself master of that capital. Having thus far succeeded, and also in subduing many other important towns which had long been subjected to Mahometan sway, Alphonso formed the resolution of expelling the Islams from the whole of Andalusia: accordingly, he attacked the territories then subject to the Mahometan kings of Badajoz and Seville; destroying so many of their towns and castles that he compelled these haughty Moslem princes to submit to his sway and purchase peace by annual tribute, for the first time since the earliest invasion of Spain by the Islams.

Soon after this achievement, an Arabian historian (whose name our space will only admit of being once given — Faquih - Abu - Abdallah - Ibn - Abdallah - Ibn - Abdi-l'Muanen-Al-Himyari) relates, that one of the subjugated Moslem princes had omitted at the appointed period to send in his annual tribute. Later in the season, however, he sent it by the hand of ambassadors: but Alphonso was so incensed at the delay that he would not receive it, requiring that the defaulter should in addition surrender to him certain fortresses; demanding further that his queen, Costanza, who then expected shortly to be confined, should be permitted to reside during her accouchement in one of the grand mosques of Cordova—owing to some tradition which the Christian bishops and priests had retained, that only such a circumstance was likely to reconvert the mosque into a Christian church, as it had been before the Islam

invasion. To this request the Mahometan returned an indignant refusal. The bearer of this message was a Jew, and so filled with the importance of his mission that he did not even restrain his language within the ordinary bounds of courtesy. He asked once and was refused politely, but firmly: he asked twice, but with more urgency: and was peremptorily refused. He asked a third time, adding insulting language to the request; and the exasperated Moslem caught up the missile nearest his hand (which chanced to be an iron inkstand), and hurled it with such force and precision at the head of the insolent Hebrew that it lodged deeply in his skull, and dashed out his brains.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

Successes of Yusuf-Al-Murtuni—Progress of Alphonso—Letter to the Governor of Seville—Alphonso and Yusuf—Alphonso's speech—He is defeated by Yusuf—Aledo taken by storm—The Christians victorious—Dissensions of the Moslems—Death of Yusuf—Alphonso I. of Aragon—Siege and surrender of Saragossa—Incidents of the war—Death of Ali-Tashefen—Internal discord—Alphonso II. of Castile—Siege of Almeida—Surrender of the city.

WHILST these events were passing in Spain, Yusuf-Al-Murtuni, a renowned and courageous Moslem prince, was establishing his power in Africa; making himself, in a very short space, master of the whole western coast, and founding the cities of Morocco and Tehusan. To him all the Berber tribes submitted; and having formed the project of annexing Andalusia to his possessions, he made preparations to attack that country by sea. When intelligence of this reached the petty princes of Andalusia, they combined to resist him to the uttermost. Yet up to the very last moment they were unwilling to incur the displeasure of so powerful a foe, while by so doing they would have placed themselves between two enemies—the Franks on the one side, and the Moslems of Africa on the other. Moreover, at this particular period the Christians had been more successful against the Mahometans, and had done more



mischief than was ever on record since the landing of Tarik at Tarifa. Yet with all their successes, they still feared an invasion from Yusuf, whose fame as a conqueror was then widely spread.

It was while the Moslems in Spain were placed in this dilemma, that the mishap of the unlucky Jewish ambassador occurred. Alphonso swore by his faith that he would march upon Seville, and besiege the defaulter in his own palace. Accordingly he raised two powerful armies; one of which he headed in person, whilst the command of the other was given to a Christian general. The armies pursued different routes, appointing as their rendezvous Triana, a suburb of Seville; where they in due time met each other, after having destroyed and laid waste the towns, villages, and countries through which they had respectively marched; till they encamped on the banks of the Guadalquivir:—and while here, Alphonso is said to have sent a taunting letter to the Moslem governor, to the effect that his stay in these parts having been already too prolonged, the heat oppressive, and the flies intolerable, Alphonso trusted that he would send him the keys of his palace, that he might shelter himself in its shady gardens. To this the Moslem speedily returned answer, that he trusted in Inshallah very shortly to procure him a resting-place so shady, that the sun's rays would never be strong enough to reach it. Nevertheless, this message induced the Moslems to apply at once to Yusuf, in Africa, for his aid, and ambassadors were accordingly dispatched; intelligence of which reaching Alphonso, he also lost no time in summoning to his aid the most powerful

princes and nobles in the neighbouring Christian states and from other parts of Christendom.

Immediately on the ambassadors reaching Yusuf, this prince gave the necessary orders for the crossing of his troops, which speedily marched, division after division, to Ceuta; from whence, headed by Yusuf, they crossed the Straits and marched into Seville. Arabian historians say, that on this occasion Yusuf brought with him a vast number of camels from Africa, which were of great service in furthering his conquest; for none of these useful animals had heretofore been seen in Andalusia; and whole troops of the Christian cavalry were thrown into disorder by their horses taking fright and becoming totally unmanageable at sight of these unwieldy creatures.

When Alphonso was aware that Yusuf had joined the Moslems of Andalusia, he wrote another taunting letter to his inveterate foe, in which he said, "Your friend Yusuf is no doubt tired of his native country, and has crossed the seas in order to settle down permanently in Spain; but I am likely to give him occupation for the remainder of his days. He longed so greatly to see you, that he has come here to meet you in your country, to spare you the trouble of going over to him." Having dispatched this epistle, Alphonso assembled his bravest generals and ablest councillors, and laid before them his plans. "Me-thinks," said he, "were I to allow the enemy to cross the passes leading to this my kingdom, and to engage my army on this side the mountain barriers which encompass this country, if the fortune of war decide against us, the Africans will take possession

of this country, and cut down its inhabitants at one stroke; whereas if I try my forces with theirs on the outskirts of their country, and the fortune of the day were to turn against us, they will not follow us beyond the mountains, for fear of leaving the passes at their backs; or if they do, it will not be before they have spent time in fresh preparations. If, on the contrary, we prove victorious, I shall have over them and in their country that very advantage which I fear they would reap in ours. Let us therefore engage them upon their own ground."

It is further related, that when Alphonso saw the flower of his troops drawn up in battle array, he was so delighted with their appearance, that he exclaimed, "*With such men as these I would encounter the combined forces of the earth!*" The hostile armies encamped opposite each other, not far from Badajoz; here the African prince went through the usual Mahometan formula of offering his opponent the three alternatives, viz., Islamism, tribute, or death; but in addition to these propositions, Yusuf had ordered his scribe to add the following paragraph, viz.:—"We understand, O Alphonso, that thou didst once express the wish of coming over to us in Africa; regretting that the want of vessels prevented you, thy wishes to meet us are now accomplished." At last, after these idle vaunts, the armies of the Christians and the Moslems came to the more terrible conclusion of a pitched battle; and, according to the enthusiastic record of a poetical Moorish historian, "*The earth quaked under the hoofs of their horses; the sun was obscured by the clouds of dust rising under the feet of the warriors:*

*the steeds swam through torrents of blood : both parties fought with equal animosity and courage."* Finally, the Christian forces were overcome and fled ; but the Moslems, as Alphonso had predicted, having lost upwards of twenty thousand of their number, forbore to pursue the fugitives. After this, owing to civil commotions that had manifested themselves during his absence, Yusuf was recalled to his own dominions in Africa. Hereupon Alphonso is said to have lost not a day in resuming the aggressive. Placing himself at the head of a considerable force, he marched against the king of Murcia, attacked and took Aledo by storm, then, leaving a considerable force to guard this newly-acquired position, he for a time retired into his own dominions ; but soon he began to harass his ancient enemy, the prince of Seville, by predatory incursions into his territories ; so much so, that this latter was obliged in person to seek the intervention of Yusuf once more, who again, at the head of a considerable force, landed in Andalusia. But on this occasion all his generalship was set at defiance, for though he attacked Aledo with every requisite for warfare, and in almost overwhelming numbers, he was compelled after a long and fruitless attack to raise the siege and return to Africa. This is a fact admitted even by Arab historians themselves, though they allege the want of unity on this occasion among the petty Moslem principalities in Andalusia : but it was not likely that a people who had been so long accustomed to sovereign and despotic sway would tamely submit to discomfitures like these. Yusuf for the third time appeared as a "Defender of the Faith" in the

rapidly declining empire of Islamism in Spain. On this occasion he is said to have penetrated as far as Toledo, the then capital of Alphonso. But again was the haughty Moslem doomed to a reverse; for notwithstanding every art of barbarous warfare—after laying siege to all the surrounding country, devastating fertile lands and cutting off the supplies of the capital—he was compelled once more to recross the seas and revisit his African dominions. But he left behind him a general to attempt what himself had failed to achieve. This officer found all the Mahometan princes in Andalusia so entirely devoted to the pleasures of that indolent clime, that he applied to his master for instructions how to act in his present dilemma; for those who had proffered succour were not forthcoming, and the Christians were daily gaining courage while the Islams of Andalusia became slothful and negligent. Yusuf's answer was, that either he should compel them to aid him with their forces, or else that his first vengeance should fall on themselves. Although these orders were publicly made known, none would stand forth; and Yusuf's general executed his wrath, one after another, upon all the petty Islam princes of Spain. - In this year, Yusuf died at Morocco, and was succeeded by his son Ali, who is said to have four times crossed over to Andalusia, vainly endeavouring to crush the now rapidly augmenting power of the Christian armies. He is said to have besieged and taken Talavera, Madrid, and Guadalaxara; while his general reduced for a time the fortresses of Santaram, Badajoz, Oporto, Evora, and Lisbon—names gloriously

familiar in later years to the British army, and many of which grace its victorious banners.

Whilst the African princes were vainly endeavouring to establish in its primitive despotism the Mahometan sway over Spain, Alphonso I. of Aragon, King of Barcelona, was pouring grievous retribution upon the heads of the Moslems in their north-eastern frontier. In this year of the Hegira, this Christian hero encountered and slew a renowned Mahometan prince, Al - Mustaim - Ibn - Had, and dispersed his forces. He then determined, if possible, to subjugate the whole of Aragon; for nearly nine years he had cast a wistful eye upon Saragossa, but that city was too strongly fortified and too well garrisoned. At length he summoned to his assistance the Christians of France; and the people of that country—to quote the Arabic expression—swarmed under his standard like locusts; so that he found himself at the head of a powerful army, with which he encamped before Saragossa. The siege lasted until more than half the population had perished from starvation—provisions there were none, save a scanty pittance sufficient to keep soul and body together for a few more days, and the long-expected reinforcements were not forthcoming. Under these circumstances the besieged prayed a truce, offering, if they were not relieved within a certain number of days, to surrender the town to the besiegers; and Alphonso granted their request; but as no succour came in the specified time, the gates of the city were thrown open, and once again Saragossa was under Christian sway. They had not, however,

been long in possession of the city, when the expected reinforcements of the Mahometans, amounting to twelve thousand horsemen, drew up in front of the city gates; but finding that they had arrived too late to afford any succour to those whom they had been sent to aid, they left the Christians in undisputed possession of the place. The news of this disaster reaching Africa, induced the prince of the Mahometan possessions in that continent to cross over again to Spain, who landed at Algesiras; and after visiting Seville and Cordova, marched towards the western frontiers of Mahometan Spain; where, to quote the words of Arabian historians, he caused "*the ravages of a storm.*" Here he remained for two years, apparently for a time checking the progress of the Christian warriors; but returned to Africa. No sooner, however, had he set foot on African soil than fresh disturbances broke out in Spain; and the Christians, with more determination and greater forces than ever, appeared upon the Mahometan frontiers. Various successes attended both parties; but the Christians, if they could not retain possession, committed fearful havoc amongst the Moslem principalities; and they themselves, weakened by domestic factions, were rapidly falling from their thrones. In this year, Ali died at Morocco, and his son Tashefen, surnamed Abu-Mahomed, succeeded him. His reign, brief as it was, passed in ceaseless warfare. Civil war was raging in Africa; and after many severely-contested engagements, a prince named Almohade overcame his forces and defeated him. Finally, the unhappy Tashefen, hunted from one place to another, fled in a

stormy night, mounted on a famous Arabian mare ; but, unacquainted with the country he traversed, his mare fell over a precipice, and his mangled remains were afterwards discovered at the bottom of a deep ravine. To him succeeded his son Abu-Ishak-Ibrahim, whom he had left to command Morocco during his absence ; but his father's foes having subjugated Fez and other African cities, he marched against Morocco, which city he besieged and took, putting the unfortunate Ibrahim to death. During the above period, the whole of the Moslem possessions were rent from frontier to frontier with internal discord, and alarmed by demonstrations of invasion. Christians of every denomination assailed the frontiers, whilst symptoms of disaffection evinced themselves amongst the Moslems of Andalusia ; so that when the death of Tashefen became known they broke out into open rebellion. In this year, Alphonso II. of Castile besieged Almeira by sea and by land, assisted by a powerful fleet from Genoa. Ibn-Mardanish, the prince of Valencia, the only Moslem who, it is stated, might have defeated the plans of Alphonso, abandoned his faith and cause, and entered into a secret compact with the Christian king—absenting himself when his presence was most required. However this may be, the combined Christian forces besieged the citadel, and took Almeira by storm. In this year the two Alphonsos, one of Toledo, the other of Castile, marched upon Cordova with a powerful cavalry force, and laid siege to that city ; but after a protracted siege, a strong reinforcement arrived to the succour of the besieged, which induced the Christian army to retire ; and in the



following year, says an African historian, two sons of the Commander of the Faithful marched against Almeira and besieged the Christians who held its strongholds. Upon this a Mahometan ally, one Abu-Abdallah-Ibn-Mardanish, king of the eastern parts of Andalusia, hastened to attack the princes; so that they had thus to defend themselves against the Christians within the fortresses, and the Moslems without; but after a time this Mahometan ally (whether conscience stricken or bribed) withdrew his forces. Alarmed at his sudden decampment, and naturally presuming that it must arise from some certain information of powerful reinforcements being at hand, the Christians decided to capitulate, and surrendered the city accordingly into the hands of the invading Moslems.

From this time there occurs an interval of nearly nine years, and then the father of these victorious princes is said to have subdued the whole of Eastern Africa to his sway; finally crossing over into Spain by the Straits of Gibraltar, the advantages of which natural stronghold he seems duly to have appreciated, as he caused a fortress to be erected on the summit of that now impregnable British rock.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

Abdul-Munen defeats Alphonso Enriquez—Granada taken—Cruelty of Ibrahim—Crusade against the Christians—Death of the caliph—Succeeded by Abu-Yacob—Military operations—Death of Yacob—Accession of Al-Mansurbillah—Alphonso II. concludes a truce—Death of Almansur—Succeeded by Mahomet—Total defeat of the Moslems—Death of Mahomet—Aladil routed—Yusuf the Second—His death—War with the Christians—Capture of Quesada—Mahomet III.—He takes Ceuta—Treatment of the prisoners—Revolution in favour of Nasr—Successes of the Christians.

FROM this commanding position Abdul-Munen is said to have made frequent incursions into Spain, and in this year marched with a body of eighteen thousand horse upon Badajoz, where he defeated Alphonso Enriquez, and reduced Beja, Evora, Alcazar-do-Sal and other towns, which had recently fallen into the hands of the Christians. In the following year, an Andalusian chieftain, named Ibrahim-Ibn-Humushk (the father-in-law of that Mardanish who had at first succoured and then deserted the Christians at Almeira), surprised the city of Granada. According to Ibnu-Khattib, the transaction is thus recorded:—"The then governor of Granada, who was a son of the caliph, had been obliged to cross over to Africa to assist his father in quelling some insurrections in that country; taking advantage of his absence, Ibrahim had put himself at the head of a

band. He approached the city at the dead of night, and with the utmost caution entering unmolested, by a gate which had been left open by his partisans, he immediately attacked the garrison, who took to the citadel for protection; but here they were immediately besieged by Ibrahim, who battering the walls threw in all kinds of projectiles. When this intelligence reached Morocco, the son of the caliph hastened back with all convenient speed, accompanied by his own brother and a considerable force of African troops; but Ibrahim, undaunted by so powerful an array, sallied forth from Granada with his few but chosen followers, and attacked the enemy.—A short but sanguinary conflict terminated in the utter routing of the African troops, and amongst the many hundreds slain was the brother of the governor, a younger son of the caliph; the governor himself succeeded in reaching Malaga with the relics of his army:—meanwhile, the citadel held out stoutly, notwithstanding Ibrahim's villanous conduct, who marching into the city, after the victory, with a numerous train of prisoners, caused these unhappy beings to be beheaded in the presence of their friends and countrymen in the citadel.

Information of the loss of his son and of the disastrous defeat of his army having reached the caliph at Salé, in Africa, he immediately dispatched another powerful army, under the command of Abu-Yacob, another of his sons. This force arrived at Dilar, a village near Granada, in the year 540 of the Hegira, A.D. 1162.

Ibrahim had duly warned his son-in-law to come to his assistance, and this latter, having succeeded

in raising a powerful army, composed partly of Moslems and partly of Christians, hastened to Granada; the troops of the caliph were however victorious, and the forces under Ibrahim were routed. The year after this victory the Caliph Abdul-Munen signified to the Arabs of Africa his intention of making a species of crusade against the Christians of Andalusia. He left Morocco in February, A.D. 1163, and arriving at Rabat, reviewed three hundred thousand men of the Arabian tribes of Eastern Africa who had obeyed his summons with alacrity, and, besides this immense force, one hundred and eighty thousand men volunteered their services. Had this mighty assemblage swarmed over Andalusia, the consequences were not of easy calculation:—but the bondage of the Christians was happily drawing towards its close; for, just as this expedition was setting forth on its dreadful design, death visited the caliph, and so stricken down, his ambition and his schemes were laid with him in his grave.

To him succeeded his son Abu-Yacob, of whom we have already made mention. In this year he crossed over into Spain, accompanied by ten thousand of his African horse, and fixed his court at Seville. A short time before his arrival, Alphonso Enriquez had reduced some considerable Mahometan towns, and amongst these Truxillo, Evora, and Cazeres; but, upon the arrival of Yacob, he retired to his stronghold. About the same time Mardanish is said to have been poisoned; and his sons and relatives immediately placed themselves under the command of the caliph, delivering the whole of their dominions into his hands. Yacob received them

kindly, and even married some of the sons to his own daughters; then having, as he hoped, firmly established his power, he began to turn his attention towards the Christians, and determined, if possible, to retake the provinces that had latterly fallen into their hands. A few unimportant successes induced hopes of his being enabled to overrun the whole country; but herein he was grievously mistaken, for, although Arabian historians extol as was their wont the prowess of Islam arms, and some of them even say that Yacob for a length of time besieged the very gates of Toledo, they are constrained to admit that he was not only obliged to decamp, but also to return to his African capital at Morocco. However, he recrossed into Spain, and marched with a considerable force upon Santarem, where he was killed by an arrow. To Yacob succeeded his son, surnamed Al-mansur-billah. In this year he landed at Algesiras, in the year of the Hegira 567, A.D. 1189, and set out immediately for the west of Andalusia, where it is said that he was to a certain degree successful; but it appears that, in the same year he returned to Morocco, where he had barely arrived, ere the unwelcome intelligence reached him that the Christians had taken Silves, one of the western towns. Accordingly, in 568 of the Hegira, A.D. 1190, the caliph returned to Spain and marched in person against this town, which he restored to the Mahometan sway. This year was also unfortunate to the Christian arms; as they lost four other towns, which had then been forty years under their sway. Alphonso the Second of Castile concluded a truce for five years with the caliph, and the latter

then returned to Morocco. When this truce had nearly expired, a large body of Christians are said to have invaded the Moslem territories, plundering and wasting in all directions ; this brought the caliph back from Africa, and he again landed at Algesiras.

Alphonso, with his Christian forces, encamped at Alarcos, near Badajoz ; but here the Christians were again unsuccessful. He fled to Toledo, where, according to Arabian historians, he arrived in such a desperate rage that he immediately caused his beard and flowing locks to be shaved, turned his crucifix upside down, and swore never to speak to his wife again until he had been revenged. Al-mansur died at Morocco in February, A.D. 1199, 577 of the Hegira, after a reign of fourteen years. It is said that eight years before his death, just before the celebrated battle of Ascalon, the Sultan Saladin sent an embassy to Al-mansur, imploring his assistance against the crusaders who were then attacking him on the coast of Palestine ; but to this, the African caliph would not agree, because the haughty Saladin refused to address him in his letters as the Commander of the Faithful.

Yacob was succeeded by his son Mahomet, whose reign, according to Arabian historians, is said to have proved fatal to the cause of the Moslems in Spain and Africa. In this year he collected an army amounting to about six hundred thousand men, with which army this young caliph was so astonished and pleased, that he imagined himself invincible ; but the Christians, on the other side, had not remained idle ; for the enthusiasm of Peter the Hermit was kindled in their blood, and all Christendom had

been summoned to assist in repelling the attacks of the Moslems. Two mighty armies encountered each other with all the fury that the religious hatred and hereditary rancour could animate either; and then the celebrated battle of Las-Navas ensued; when, according to the Arabs themselves, out of that mighty army of six hundred thousand Moslems, barely one thousand are said to have escaped to tell their fate. Be this as it may, it is very evident that the Moslems suffered a signal defeat.

After leaving a record behind him, abhorred by all true believers of the prophet, Mahomet died at Morocco. His son, a weak prince, and much devoted to pleasure, reigned about four years, dying in 620 of the Hegira; and to him, as he died without issue, succeeded his father's uncle. This unhappy uncle had barely time to proclaim himself, before his language of authority was effectually stopped by a cord sent to him by Aladil, a rebel who besieged Morocco, and who assisted with his own hands in strangling this caliph of an hour. The same year this Aladil marched against the Christians in Spain, and fought a pitched battle with them, which terminated in the utter defeat of himself and the Moslems under his command. Very signal must have been the victory of the Christians; for Eastern historians, in recording it, compare its results to an ulcerated sore in the body of Islam. Aladil fled into Africa, where he was shortly after imprisoned; and a son of that Mahomet, to whom as has been already said, the downfall of the Moslem power is attributed, succeeded to the caliphate under the title of Yusuf the Second; an

inexperienced youth unfitted for the important post which he was called to fill. On receipt of this intelligence amongst the Moslems in Spain, one Abdalla-Idris proclaimed himself Caliph of Seville, and was recognized by the Mahometans of Andalusia. In course of time his authority was also acknowledged at Morocco, though he never went to dwell there. At last an Andalusian chief rose against his authority, and defeated his forces. Idris fled to Africa, where he assumed the offensive against Yusuf the Second, whom he ultimately overcame and put to death in the year of the Hegira 613, A.D. 1235.

Seven years after this, Idris himself died, and was succeeded by his brother Idris the Second, who was killed near a castle, not far from Telemsam. To him succeeded Omar-Eben-Ibrahim-Eben-Yusuf-Ibn-Abdulmamen, whose dominions were in this year invaded by Abu-Dabus (literally, the father of a pin), who took Omar prisoner, and killed him on the spot with a dagger. Dabus himself was slain by the Brui-Merin; he was the last member forwarded by Abdulmamen, one of the most powerful dynasties of Islam.

Four years after this, the King of Granada, hearing that the Christians were about to assail his dominions, applied for succour to the Sultan of Fez and Western Africa; and that prince sent his son with an army, himself following at the head of a powerful expedition. Having taken Algesiras from the enemy, the Africans converted it into a military depot. The King of Granada also transferred Tarifa to the African sovereign, and when all



the preparations had been duly completed, the two kings united their forces; but in vain—for the King of Granada was forced to make peace with the Christians, and the African returned to his own dominions. Arabian historians, however, assure us that on this occasion the Moslems gained a victory against Don Nuno Gonzalez de Lara, the general of the Christians. Again, Sancho, Archbishop of Toledo, made an incursion into the Moslem territories, and the troops of Granada overtaking him near Murtoche, his troops were completely routed—the prelate remaining a corpse upon the battle-field. The Castilians now prepared to invade the territory of Granada. The Moslem king, however, having received intelligence of these preparations, marched against them, and having laid siege to Quesada, reduced that important city, besides several other important towns. Having left forces to protect these, the sultan returned to Granada; but, after a prosperous reign of thirty years, this sultan of Granada, by name Mahomet, died suddenly, at Granada. To him succeeded Mahomet III. This prince, bred in the camp of his father, was a bold and enterprising man. Soon after his accession he attacked the Christians and took some towns. Amongst the captives taken at one of these cities was, we are told, a Spanish lady of incomparable beauty, who afterwards adorned the harem of one of the sultans of Western Africa. In 703, Mahomet III. discovered a plot for his assassination, which he very promptly suppressed by decapitating all who had the ill luck to fall under suspicion. In 705, the same sultan or caliph took Ceuta, by which victory he be-

came possessed of immense wealth belonging to the merchants of that place. All the prisoners being conveyed to Granada, they were there imprisoned till the following year; when, on a set day, Mahomet the Third, arrayed in gorgeous robes, with multitudes assembled to witness the spectacle, caused all these unhappy wretches to be paraded before his throne with the not very clement purpose of witnessing their decapitation. The victims, however, escaped through the poetical talents of some of their lot, who, in very happy extempore verses, lauded the sultan to the skies and levelled themselves with the dust; so that this proud potentate, unable to withstand the fascination of the encomium, and overcome by what he imagined to be an apt description of his own greatness and virtues, pardoned one and all of the prisoners; assigning to each a house, with a wife and other indispensable Moslem furniture, besides a pension, which maintained them in idleness during the remainder of the sultan's days; the period of their enjoyment of this was, unfortunately for themselves, of very short duration, for a revolution broke out in favour of Nasr, a brother of Mahomet; and this latter was compelled to abdicate in his favour.

Nasr had barely been seated on the throne before he was plunged into those troubles which more or less generally attend upon royalty. Next year, Fernando IV., King of Castile, laid siege to Algesiras, and, though not successful in his attempt to reduce this place, he got possession of a stronger hold—Gibraltar. Meanwhile, the Christian King of Barcelona had laid siege to Almeira, which city for several

months he closely besieged, and routed a Moslem army that was sent to its relief; only retiring from before its walls when worn out with the weariness of an over-protracted siege.

## CHAPTER XXX.

Illness of the caliph—Defeat of Nasr—Revolution at Granada—Nasr abdicates—Battle of Elvira—Accession of Mahomed IV.—Battle of Tarifa—Yusuf assassinated—Succeeded by Mahomed V.—Civil wars—Yusuf III.—The Moslems expelled from Spain—Incidents of Arabian history—Review of the troops—Abu Abdallah Mahomed—The Christians infringe the treaties—Rigorous measures—The Moslems submit—They revolt—They are defeated—Their dispersion—Estimate of Moslem character.

NASR was again disturbed by the revolt of one of his relatives—Abu Saïd Feraj, who was Governor of Malaga as well as of Ceuta. This man had repaired to Granada for the purpose of tendering the oath of allegiance to Nasr; and when there he was persuaded by some dissatisfied courtiers to lay claim to the throne himself: accordingly on his return to Malaga, Feraj raised the standard of revolt, and proclaimed not himself but his son. Some months after, this son marched upon Antequera of which he made himself master; the city of Almeira also submitted to him—the citizens of Oelez shut its gates against him, but the besieger sent for engines and compelled them to yield. Soon after, Nasr was seized with a fit of apoplexy, so severe, that his physicians supposed him to be dead. When this report was spread through Granada, the inhabitants besought one Almenecur

to assert his rights to the throne; which he accordingly did, setting out for Granada in a magnificent litter, and attended with all the pomp of royalty. But on entering Granada great was the astonishment of this claimant and his supporters to find that Nasr instead of being dead had recovered from the fit, and was at that moment in the enjoyment of robust health. His brother, however, the supposed deceased in question, cordially invited him to his palace, and the next day his body was found floating in a fish-pond. During these events, Abu Saïd and his son were strengthening themselves in their position; and having collected what they considered a competent force, they marched upon Granada, and in a pitched battle defeated Nasr, who, in flying from the field of battle, was thrown from his horse into a pond, similar to that in which his unlucky brother had met an untimely end; but with more fortunate results to himself, for he was rescued by his followers, and succeeded in reaching the city of Granada. Abulwalid returned crowned with victory to Malaga, where shortly after he received from Nasr propositions for peace which he deemed proper to accept. In this year a revolution broke out at Granada. A number of disaffected citizens, displeased with the conduct of Nasr's vizier, surrounded the palace, and clamorously demanded that the person of the vizier should be delivered up to them. The guards made a sudden sally which dispersed the rioters; but the ringleaders fled for refuge to Malaga, where they persuaded Abulwalid to assume the supreme command, and

march against Nasr. This the Prince of Malaga agreed to do, and accordingly marched against Loxa, which city he reduced in January, 1314, (A.D.) From Loxa the expedition returned to Malaga to provide themselves with requisite military stores, which were necessary to guard against the inclemency of the winter. He then marched to Archedona, where he encountered the troops of his opponent. A battle ensued, in which the victory was long doubtful—at length the troops of Granada gave way and fled, pursued by the victors to the very gates of the capital. One of the gates having been left open during the confusion, Abulwalid and his forces penetrated as far as the old citadel, of which they took immediate possession. Nasr fled to the celebrated Alhambra, accompanied by his harem and treasures; but shortly afterwards he was compelled to surrender and abdicate. He left Granada and retired to Guadix. The reign of Abulwalid is considered by Arabian historians as the most prosperous of all the sultans of Granada, though they are forced to acknowledge that his army was signally defeated by the Castilians, when these latter obtained possession of Bexixar, Tescar, and the fortified lines of Rute. Still they assert, and perhaps truly, that the battle of Elvira fully compensated the Muslims for their previous disasters. Pedro of Castile, at the head of a powerful Christian army, now appeared before Granada. In this engagement the unfortunate Pedro (who had previously been to Toledo and brought with him as an impervious shield the pope's blessing) was slain, and his forces scattered. According to the Mahomedan

writers the unhappy wife and family of Pedro fell into the hands of the Moslems, and the body of that unfortunate prince having been found amongst the slain in the battle-field, was skinned, and the skin being stuffed with cotton and aromatic gums, suspended as a trophy to one of the gates of the city of Granada—the one which led to the Alhambra. In this year Abulwalid met with a violent death from the hand of one of his cousins whom he had, upon a certain occasion, grievously insulted. To him succeeded Mahomed IV., who soon after his accession, marched against the city of Cabra and wrested it from the Christians—he also attempted Casares but was defeated in the attempt. Still he succeeded in inflicting a tremendous blow upon the Christians, by capturing the stronghold of Gibraltar, after it had then been in their possession for upwards of twenty years.

In this year Mahomed was assassinated, and was succeeded by his brother Yusuf, during whose reign the Moslems suffered a severe defeat at the battle of Tarifa. Landing with upwards of 60,000 men from Africa, Yusuf was immediately joined by the forces from Granada, under Abulhejaj. Thousands of Moslems, according to the records of their own historians, that day bit the dust; and the swords of the Christians, or as they are by them termed infidels, were brandished over the heads of the vanquished Islams. The sultan's own son and all his harem fell into the hands of the victors, as did his immense treasures. Yusuf was assassinated whilst at prayers by a maniac, who rushed upon him unexpectedly, and mortally wounded him. The as-

sassin was literally torn limb from limb by the infuriated people, and then his miserable remnants were burnt to ashes. This Sultan Yusuf was interred within the precincts of the Alhambra, in the cemetery reserved for the princes of the royal family. He was succeeded by Mahomed the Fifth. This sultan had only reigned five years, when a revolution broke out, headed by one Ismail, his half brother, and assisted by other of his relatives. Taking advantage of the absence of Mahomet, who was then residing at a country place, out of the Alhambra, Ismail scaled the walls of that fortress, and made himself master of it, after putting to death Redwan, the vizier of Mahomed; and on the following day Ismail-Abul-Walid was proclaimed by the troops and citizens. Meanwhile the dethroned prince found means of escaping to Guadix, from whence he crossed over into Africa. Mahomed and his followers remained at Fez till the year 763, when they returned to Andalusia, the sultan regaining possession of his throne, not, however, till an intermediate Mahomed (the sixth) had occupied the throne. He, however, possessed it only for two years, being at the end of that period assassinated. The reinstatement of Mahomed the Fifth was but the preface to an uninterrupted series of internal conflicts and misfortunes, though he did not die till the year 793 of the Hegira. To him succeeded his son Yusuf the Third, under whose sway the Moslem empire in Spain continued rapidly decaying, until it became, to quote the Oriental term, an easy prey to the pack of hungry wolves that surrounded it. Yusuf was succeeded by another Mahomed; and still the Ma-



hometan power rapidly decreased in Spain, till, according to Arabian historians themselves, they were finally expelled from Spain in the year of the Hegira 988, A.D. 1610.

But before closing this account of the Mahometan dynasty in Spain, which has been entirely collected from the translations of the most celebrated Arab historians, we may devote a few pages to their fabulous but romantic records of the downfall of Islam in Spain ; tinged as these descriptions are with much of that marvellous fiction which, in our younger days, breathed over the pages of the Arabian Nights its talismanic influence, and, in our later and soberer years, has renewed its charm, yet more freshly revived upon the defaced canvass of our memory by the skill of Irving, in his delightful work on the Alhambra.

Speaking of an immolation that occurred at Granada, in 856 of the Hegira, A.D. 1478, the Arabian historian says :—

“ No sooner did Abdul-Hassan, the caliph, see himself firmly seated upon the throne, than he made war against the idolaters (Christians), and took from them several castles and strong places. The lightnings of victory shone in his favour, and against the enemy. They feared him, sought his friendship, and sued for peace. The armies of this caliph having immensely increased, he determined to review them. To this end he caused skilful architects to erect a platform out of the Alhambra, or castle of Granada. The review began on Tuesday, the 19th of the month of Dhi-l-Najjak, of the year 856 of the Hegira (A.D. 1478—24th March) ; and the

troops ceased not passing daily before him till the 22d of Moharran of the following year—857 (April 24, A.D. 1479). On this occasion the soldiers were clad in suits of polished steel armour, dressed in gorgeous silken robes, mounted on fleet steeds, and having their swords, spears, and shields richly embossed with gold and silver. One day, when the sultan was as usual seated under the pavilion, and the troops were passing before him, the summits and the sides of the neighbouring hill being crowded with spectators, who had left their dwellings for the purpose of witnessing the pageant, all on a sudden the rain fell down in torrents, and the river Darro overflowed her banks. Such was the fury of the element, which poured down from the neighbouring mountains, carrying along large stones and uprooting trees, that it destroyed everything in its course : houses, shops, mills, inns, markets, bridges, and garden-walls, were swept away by the devastating flood.”

Again, in recounting the downfall of the Moslems, we read : “ The Sultan Abu-Abdallah-Mahomed, under whose reign the Mahomedan empire in Andalusia was overthrown, was the son of the Sultan Abul-Hassan, son of the Sultan Saïd, son of the Emir Ali, son of the Sultan Yusuf, who was son of Mahomed the Fifth, he who was the central pearl in the necklace of that dynasty—the founder of an empire resting upon the most solid foundations—the true sultan of that illustrious race—he who lost his throne and took refuge in Africa, and was restored by the Sultan of Fez to his dominions, after his pious and generous acts had reached to the highest pitch

and spread the sweetest odour. Not many years elapsed after Sultan Abu-Abdalla commenced to reign, before the Christians began to infringe the treaties they had formed with the Moslems. Things went so far in the year 876 (A.D. 1498), that they set about forcing the Moslems to embrace the Christian faith, under various pretences; the most specious of which was that their priests had written books on the convenience of compelling such Christians as had embraced Islamism to return to their former religion. Notwithstanding the clamour occasioned among the Moslem communities, by so revolting an injustice, the people being helpless, the measure was carried into execution. Not satisfied with this breach of the treaty, the Christians even went further, saying to Mahometans—*'Thy ancestors were Christians, thou must also become a Christian.'*

“When these proceedings became public, the people of the Albayzan rose up in arms and slew their magistrate. But this also was made an excuse for more vigorous measures; for, soon after, the *poor* Moslems were told that the king had promulgated a law, by which any one that revolted against their magistrates would be condemned to death (which of course must have happened unless he immediately became a Christian); so you must either die, or be converted to Christianity, or revolt. In short, every Moslem, whether residing in Granada or in the neighbourhood, was required to embrace the religion of the idolaters (Christians) within a certain time. A few however refused to comply with this order; but it was of no avail to them: seeing which,

they had recourse to arms, and rose in several villages and towns—such as Belefique, Andaras, and others—whither the enemy (Christian) marched his forces, attacking and pursuing the inhabitants until they almost exterminated them, killing a great number and making the rest captives. After this the Moslems that remained obtained terms of capitulation, and were allowed to cross over to Fez with their wives and families and transportable property, though they were not allowed to take with them more money than was absolutely requisite for their journey. Such of the Moselms as remained in Andalusia, though Christians by name, were Moslems at heart; for they worshipped Allah in secret, and performed their prayers and ablutions at the proper hours. The Christians watched over them with the greatest vigilance, and many were discovered and burnt. Meantime they were forbidden the use of arms, and even small knives, or other sharp instruments made of iron. At last these and other cruelties having driven the Moslems to despair, they again, on different occasions, rose in arms on the Mountamoul districts; but the Almighty not being pleased to grant victory to their arms, they were everywhere overpowered and slain, until (as I have already stated) they were ultimately expelled from the territory of Andalusia. Many thousands of these unfortunate emigrants went to Fez—thousands to Tremecen from Oran—the greater part took the road to Tunis; few, however, reached the place of their destination, for they were assailed on their way by the Arabs, and plundered and mal-treated, especially on the road to Fez and Tremecen. Those who directed

their course to Tunis were more fortunate ; they for the most part reached that place in safety, and peopled the desert towns and districts of that country, as also Telwan, Jalé, and the plains of Medidja, near Algiers. Some entered the service of the Sultan Megrubulukssi, who formed them into a body and allotted them for residence the port of Salé ; where they have since made themselves famous for their maritime exploits against the enemies of God (the Christians), fortifying the castle and building themselves houses, palaces, and baths. A few went to Constantinople and to Egypt and Syria, some to other more distant countries, where Islamism is still predominant, their descendants to this day overrunning the land. God, indeed, is the master of all lands and dominions, and gives them to whomsoever he pleases." Thus piously and truthfully ends the Arabian record of the dispersion and expulsion of the Moors from Spain, and, considering what a length of time they had enjoyed, what they certainly had no right to, it was ungrateful of them to complain, when the time came that such a thing could be accomplished, as their being expelled the shores of Andalusia. The brave Islam troops of Tarik had degenerated through centuries into a set of blood-thirsty ruffians, debauched and debased in moral character, and unfit to breathe the pure atmosphere, or to look upon such magnificent scenery as Spain affords. There is one singular incident to which I have omitted to allude—one that opens a wide field for speculation as to who inhabit the central regions of Africa, and what tongues are spoken there to this day. About the year 499 of the Hegira, A.D. 1121,

several thousand Christian families were transported from Cordova, Seville, and other towns to Mekuaseh, Salé, and other towns of Western Africa, whence they were doubtless sold into captivity amongst the tribes trading with the interior.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

Remarks on the growth of Islamism—Hengist and Horsa—Dagobert and Caribert—The Merovingian dynasty—Charlemagne—Egbert—Alfred the Great—Arithmetic introduced into Europe—Invention of paper—Comparison of Mahometans and Christians—Canute—Edward the Confessor—Jerusalem taken by the Turks—Battle of Hastings—Tower of London built—The Knights Templars—Pope Alexander the Third—Battle of Ascalon—Surnames first used—Magna Charta—Genghis Khan—Baghdad taken.

WE have now traced from its commencement the birth and growth of Islamism, its death too as regards Western Europe; how, like the tree of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, "*it was strong, and the height thereof reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth;*" how the leaves thereof were fair and the fruit thereof much, and in it was meat for 'all; while the beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the boughs thereof: it may be interesting to take a brief retrospective glance at the events passing in other parts of the world, at the men of note and of learning, and at the more important discoveries recorded; commencing from the days when that cloud, not bigger than a hand, rose in the wilds of Arabia, and spread over the earth, till finally its power was exhausted.

Be it, however, borne in mind, that whilst these sons of Islam were laying the torch of war to the Eastern world, the Saxons who under Hengist and Horsa had entered our island nearly two centuries before the birth of Mahomet, were rapidly bringing its conquest to a close. These brothers, aware that the other provinces of Germany were occupied by a warlike and necessitous people, and that the provinces of Gaul were overrun by other German tribes, found no difficulty in persuading their countrymen to aid their enterprise. They accordingly (A.D 449) landed in the Isle of Thanet, and marched to the defence of the Britons against the Scots and Picts. The vices and the pusillanimity of Vortigern induced them to form a scheme of conquering for themselves, and not for their allies. They accordingly sent to Saxony for reinforcements which duly arrived, and thus they had established a footing in the kingdom, which ended in the conquest of the whole of England in the year 685. In the early history of France we find that six years after the flight of Mahomet—or in 628 of our Lord—Clotaire the Second died, leaving two sons who came into the possession of his kingdom. These brothers ought to have divided it between them; but Dagobert, hearing of his father's death, wished to secure it wholly to himself. Caribert however gratified his brother's ambition, by dying two years after their accession. Dagobert, it would appear, was even at that early period the victim of priestly intrigues—a tool in the hands of Arnoul, Bishop of Metz. Patronizing and being patronized by saints, he engaged in war with the Frank Lamo, Chief of



the Venedi, and invariably was defeated. He made Sigebert, his eldest son, King of Metz, and Clovis, his second son, was acknowledged heir of Neustria and Burgundy. Having done this Dagobert died, leaving his kingdom to his two sons, who were then still infants. Then came the Merovingian family, shadows of royalty, debauched and effeminate, known to the French by that reproachful distinction, *Les rois fainéants—the idle kings*. These were Sigebert, and his eldest son, Dagobert the Second, who was dethroned by a usurper and sent into Scotland or Ireland. Childebert, son of Grimoald, and grandson of Pepin, Mayor of Austrasia, aspired to the throne; but the people rejected him, and threw his father into prison, where he died. Childeric II., son of Clovis of Neustria succeeded, and held his undistinguished reign through sixteen years. Then came Clotaire III., dying in eight years. Then Thierry III., Childeric II., Thierry III., Dagobert II., Clovis III., and Childebert III., which brings us down to A.D. 711, when the Moslems were possessing themselves of the fertile countries of Spain. In 748 of our Lord, commenced the period when dates were reckoned from the birth of our Saviour. In 800, whilst other great events were passing in divers parts of Europe, empires were gradually rising, as out of the chaos of barbarism. When the Moslem was a literary and civilized being, and the Briton little better than a savage, Charlemagne shone out upon the Western hemisphere. For, apart from his career as a successful general and a politician, to him we owe the

facilities of commerce—he first having given names to the winds; neither are we less indebted to his fiscal ingenuity; he first having named the months as they are now ordered, and appointed the periods when quarter-days were to become of infallible reckoning. Twenty-six years after this, Harold, King of Denmark was dethroned for being a Christian; and two years afterwards England, under Egbert, assumed that name which she has since preserved, till the name alone has become a passport for truth, honour, and unfailing courage. To the year 838 the Scots are indebted for the victory gained by them over the Picts under Kenneth, who united their territories under the name of Scotland. Thirty years afterwards the Danes began their ravages in England. And in ten further years the great Alfred, after fifty hard contested battles by land and sea, subdued these invaders—divided England into counties—erected county courts, and founded a university at Oxford.

Another score of years and the University of Cambridge, equally famous in all respects, was also founded. In the year 991, figures in arithmetic were first introduced into Europe by the Saracens. Previously to this bills were generally drawn up with letters of the alphabet in lieu of figures, and years sped on, and Otho III. had made the empire of Germany elective. The standard of independence was first raised in Poland, under Boleslaus. The palm-leaf and needle of Oriental literature were first superseded by paper made from cotton rags, in the year 1000 of our Lord—170 years afterwards, *linen*

raggs were substituted; but the manufactory was not introduced into England until the year 1588, though the Saracens had so long previously possessed historians celebrated for their learning and for the immense mass of manuscripts which they have left behind to testify to their talent and industry. In 1015, the law forbade English parents from putting their children up to auction and selling them to the highest bidder. There is no fact in the comparative records of Mahometans and of Christians at that era, which argues more unfavourably to the latter. In the whole course of Islam history the Moslems have never been reproached with this unnatural disposal of their children—the fruit of their own loins, for the sake of lucre. However, if the same comparison be pursued between the humanity of England and that of the Mahometan empire, we must confess ourselves cast far into the shade, while putting aside the question of advancement in art or science, wherein we have long since as far outshone them as the sun does the palest of the stars. Two years after this law regarding children had been promulgated, Canute got possession of England. It will be remembered that the first victorious Saracen general, who had carried the faith of Islam to the utmost limits of Western Africa, exasperated at finding his further victorious progress checked by the mighty Atlantic, spurred his courser into the waves and swore by Allah that, if it had not been for this check he would have spread the Islam faith over the remotest West. The sea, in that instance, proved an insuperable barrier to the wild Arab's ambition, and

so with Canute, if we remember aright, this same resistless ocean convinced him how base was the adulation of his courtiers, and how infinitely all human power fell short, though of the earth's mightiest conquerors. In 1041, Edward the Confessor restored the Saxon line; and, two years afterwards, the Turks—a race then pagan and unknown to fame and history—began to show themselves formidable by obtaining the mastery of Persia.

In this year Pope Leo the Ninth set a warlike example to his successors, by maintaining an army at the expense of the pontificate; and three years subsequently, the usurper Macbeth was killed at Dun-sinane by Malcolm the Third of Scotland. Now follow two most important events in the world—the sacking of Jerusalem by the Turks, and the expulsion therefrom of the Saracens, who had occupied it since the days of the celebrated Caliph Omar; and in the following year was fought the battle of Hastings between Harold and William Duke of Normandy, wherein the latter was victorious, and became the first King of England of the Norman line. Music, which had hitherto been confined to the primitive Tytirian pipe and the Druidical harp, was now reduced to a science; and musical notes were first invented in 1070.

In 1076, the laws assumed a clearer form, and justices of the peace were then first appointed.

Of late years we have seen advertised a book called "A Visitation to the Seats of the principal Nobles and Gentry in England," &c. It should rather have been termed a "Sequel to Doomsday Book," compiled by order of William the Conqueror,

and completed in 1086: the same year of the building of the Tower of London, which, for the space of five centuries, was the residence of the court; but which ceased to be honoured by the royal presence upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth in 1558, as will hereafter be adverted to. In 1096, the first crusade against the infidels, then in possession of Jerusalem, took place; and in 1118, the honourable order of the Knights Templar was instituted to defend the sepulchre at Jerusalem, and to protect Christian strangers. In 1063, London-bridge was first built of stone. In 1172 occurred the annexation of Ireland; which was taken possession of by the first of the Plantagenets, and thenceforward governed by a lord-lieutenant or English viceroy. The same king first instituted courts of circuits, dividing the whole of England into six circuits in 1176. In 1180 glass was first introduced among us in windows; five hundred years had been permitted to elapse from its discovery before so simple, and in a climate like this so indispensable a requisite, was adopted. In contrast to the tardy movements of our forefathers, it may be observed, that in less than half-a-year after its discovery, gutta-percha had been applied to fifty different forms for convenience and luxury. As a further and a more discreditable instance of the weakness and ignorance of those times, it may be added that, in two years afterwards, the kings of England and of France were compelled by an arrogant pope, Alexander the Third, to hold the stirrups, while his holiness took horse: a degrading record of regal serfdom and popular abasement, and a monument

unto future generations of the insolence of the Romish clergy, who even at this day would, if permitted, rule as despotically as in the time of ignorance and superstition. In 1192 was, as has already been said, the battle of Ascalon, when Richard Cœur de Lion defeated Saladin with a force of 300,000 men, and four years afterwards adopted the motto of *Dieu et mon droit*. In the beginning of the twelfth century the smoke nuisance must have been terrible indeed; for not a single chimney existed in England; and, what is as singular in the annals of Turkish history, and one which would be considered fabulous by any modern Turk, is the fact—that not one of their ancestors had yet learned to smoke tobacco, it being, as yet, confined to the wild tribes in America. But what will “John Johnson” think, when we tell him that at the same period—that is to say at the end of the twelfth century—he would have been called, John the son of John? In this respect we were then on a par with the Arabs inhabiting Spain; for it was not till the year 1200 that surnames began to be used, and then only amongst the nobility. So that whilst the governors of Cordova were called Yacob Ibn Yusuf and so on—these names which would be deemed uncouth in England, were, in fact, only a parallel of our names at home—the above simply meaning James the son of Joseph. But the grandest events in the early part of the year 1200 are, the incorporation of London, and the obtaining of the first charter from King John, and of the glorious Magna Charta. These were mighty emblems of the advancement of civil and religious

liberty, and the first footprints in the march of civilization ; and as the star of England gradually appeared in the ascendant, so was the crescent moon of the Mahometans rapidly setting for ever in the west. In 1227, the Tartars under Genghis Khan, a people heretofore unheard of, first became known ; and swept like a hurricane over all the Saracenic empire, which as quickly lost power and territory, as their advance had been rapid and extensive. The capture of Baghdad entirely annihilated the Saracen name—the cloud from the desert was blown back into its pristine insignificance—the bubble of fame had collapsed. The name had been banished for ever ; but the faith remained firmly rooted in vast Eastern empires. Thus, the valour of the early Saracens is now remembered only in history ; whereas the religion which they enforced prevails, from even the sixth century to the present date, over a wide extent of country.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

Ali Ildrahin—Mahomed Obeidallah—Foundation of Cairo—The caliphate of Egypt—Barbarossa and Hayradan—Barbarossa seizes upon the throne of Algiers—Is attacked by Charles the Fifth—Hayradan assumes the throne—His great fame—His favour with the Sultan—Expedition of Charles the Fifth—Hayradan ravages the coast—Haschem Aga—Andrea Doria—Description of his palace—His triumphant return to Genoa—Francis the First.

Now that we have traced the fortunes of the Saracens down to the period when, long after they had lost supreme power, their remnants were rejected from Spain and scattered over Africa and the East, we may resume the year 812 of the Christian era, to mark the progress and decline of the Mahometan power in Spain. Only fifty years had elapsed since the period when the Islams in Spain had shaken off the yoke of the Eastern caliphs, and the islands in Africa followed their example. Ali-Ildrahin, Lieutenant of the Caliph of Baghdad and Governor of Northern Africa, successfully revolted against the authority of his chief; and proclaimed an independent kingdom, including ancient Mauritania and Mapylia, besides the Republic of Carthage. Nearly equal in fame and splendour and length of reign to that of the house of Moawyah, was the continuance of the lineal descendants of this first Islam



that had assumed the title of caliph in Africa, for their dynasty, termed the Agleite, from the father of the first sovereign, endured with undiminished power through upwards of ninety years. At their overthrow, Mahomed Obeidallah seized upon the throne; founding upon this favourite dynasty a race of princes who assumed the title of Mihidi, or Directors of the Faithful. In this long interval, however, the countries of Fez and Tangiers had been wrested from the sway of the Eastern caliphs by some descendants of the prophet; and the house of Ali had temporarily assumed an independence, constituting a kingdom entirely distinct from the other Mahomedan possessions in Africa. These Mahomed soon subjugated; rendering himself undisputed sovereign of all that vast tract of territory which included the shores of the Mediterranean, from opposite Gibraltar to Egypt and the confines of Arabia. It was the last prince of this fortunate dynasty, named Moez, or Moses, who gained distinction by subjugating the whole of Egypt; which he annexed to the African caliphate, removing it to that country: and, so soon as peace and order were established, he set about founding that magnificent Oriental capital—the City of Cairo, now a place so well known to thousands of Englishmen, and where, at the present moment, civilization is actually establishing a railway in the very centre of barbarism. Having been duly proclaimed first caliph of Egypt, he bestowed his African possessions, to be holden as a fief of the Egyptian caliphate, upon one of his best generals; so through five hundred years, Africa was ravaged by contending dynasties—none of suffi-

cient duration to be recorded in Mahomedan history. However, about the ninth century of the Hegira, the scheriffs or actual descendants of Mahomet ascended the throne of Africa, and from that period the royal dignity was unbrokenly transmitted from heir to heir. Various kingdoms had, in this interval, been founded ; the most important of these were Tunis and Algiers, and the kingdom of Morocco, including Fez, which last was for some time in possession of the Merinion—a separate dynasty. Of all the notable characters that flourished in these ages, the most remarkable were the two notorious pirates, sons of a potter inhabiting Lesbos ; whose names and exploits were the terror of all inhabiting the islands and sea-boards of the Mediterranean, from Gibraltar to the Dardanelles. Barbarossa and Hayradan hovered about the coasts of Spain and Italy ; carrying off prizes from their very ports to the coast of Barbary, where they were always welcomed by the Moors for the immense profits reaped from their wild and reckless prodigality—selling at a mere trifle the rich booties which they continually acquired and squandering the purchase-money on wild debauch. But the two leaders coveted royalty as well as plunder—to form a permanent settlement opposite to the shores of the then greatest commercial states was a matter of paramount importance to them ; and Barbarossa, availing himself of the protracted and desultory wars waged between the Algerine and Spanish monarchs, became an ally of the African king, who received from him such treatment as was to be expected at his mercenary and blood-stained hands.

Barbarossa murdered the man whom he had come ostensibly to protect; and then quietly seated himself upon the vacant thrones of Algiers and Tremesan. He, however, was not long permitted to reap the harvest of his ambition. The troops of the Emperor Charles the Fifth were directed against this usurping pirate, who was continually infesting the coasts of Spain and Italy with fleets that bore nearer semblance to the armaments of a mighty king than to the squadron of a corsair. Barbarossa fought with courage, rendered furious by desperation. With him he knew it must be either victory or death. There was no hope that if vanquished in battle he might find honourable peace and protection. Mercy—too often prostrate at his feet—had been spurned and derided. None who fell within his power had aught to expect: and the cry for vengeance rose against him to Heaven, as hundreds among the ranks of the soldiers of Charles called to mind some friend or kinsman who had been destroyed by this ruthless man; and when the last decisive blow smote him to the ground, he is said to have fallen without sigh or struggle. With him these hateful corsairs might have been extinguished; but unhappily the Christian princes of Europe were wreaking their jealousies upon each other, and the operations of Charles were diverted from Africa to events more formidable than those which were passing near his own realm. And Hayradan, the brother of the fallen Barbarossa, profiting by the absence of the Imperial forces, assumed supreme power in Algiers; and while regulating with great skill the internal economy of

his kingdom, he suspended not his predatory excursions; till, alarmed at his own boldness, and fearing the retribution which had awaited his brother, he hoped to strengthen himself against the vengeance of the Christians by placing his kingdom under the protection of the Grand Seignior at Constantinople. Solyman, then Sultan of Turkey, dispatched a powerful army for the protection of Algiers, and this force not only enabled Hayradan to set invaders at defiance, but strengthened him upon his own throne, by its salutary check to malcontents; and many they were, doubtless, who might be privately machinating against his power. The fame of Hayradan's exploits by sea had risen so high that Solyman offered him the command of the Turkish navy, as the only seaman to whom he could confide such a trust, at a moment when opposed to the celebrated Genoese patriot, Andrea Doria. Elated with this high distinction, Hayradan at once repaired to Constantinople; and, mingling the arts of a courtier with a warrior's boldness, he effectually won the confidence of the sultan and his vizier in all which he counselled or undertook. Assisted by the sultan, he formed and executed a plan for the subjugation of Tunis—a kingdom which was then rent by civil discord, and whose throne was tottering from intestine divisions.

But the indignation of all Europe was roused at the combined wrong practised by the sultan and the pirate Hayradan; who had shortly to contend against the ex-king of Tunis, whom they had dethroned and exiled, as also against those who had assisted in re-establishing his claims; against the

knights of Malta and Germany Italy and Spain ; Francis the First being the only continental sovereign who withheld his aid in the common cause of Christendom. The Emperor Charles commanded this expedition in person. The Goletta soon surrendered to their arms ; and the Moors were completely routed in their own deserts by the Christian confederates. Hayradan fled into the interior, while the King of Tunis was re-established on his throne by the allied Christian powers. Tunis was declared to be a fief of Spain ; and many wise regulations were made by the emperor for the advancement of civilization, the security of peace, and welfare of Europe and of Africa—above all—for the suppression of piracy in those seas. Hayradan had effected his escape to the sea coast ; and, eluding the vigilance of his enemy, arrived at some of his most secret haunts ; whence he ever and anon swept the seas with his piratical fleet, committing great havoc upon the shores of Italy, and despoiling the coasts from Nice to Naples. Algiers, the third of the large and powerful states of Northern Africa, was rescued from the power of the Christians, partly by the chances of war, partly by the cunning of Hayradan and his general Haschem Aga, a renegade eunuch, who had been appointed by Barbarossa to be leader of the predatory wars which the Algerines carried on by land and sea. These miscreants rivalled in audaciousness and cruelty the wild freebooters of Tunis ; till, moved by the entreaties of his plundered subjects on the coasts of Italy and Spain, and urged by the desire of conquest, the Emperor Charles

summoned to his standard all the renowned warriors of Christendom. The Pope's interposition was lightly regarded by Charles, and as lightly the wise counsel of old and experienced warriors, such as was Andrea Doria; or, to gratify his own ambition, he led forth the flower of an army to certain destruction. Enough of these brother pirates—let us close the dark page of their barbarity, and review the lives of the few honourable and courageous men who shed a lustre on those ages. Such was Andrea Doria, a native of Genoa the Superb. To this very day among the many palaces which add to the beauty of this glorious city is one dear to all patriotic Genoese—the palace of Doria, that name so cherished by the people: for grandeur and extent it is the most magnificent edifice in the Bay of Genoa, and a fitting residence for the proudest sovereign in Europe. Its marble staircases, magnificent salons and galleries, adorned with superb tapestries, beautiful statuary, exquisite paintings, its balconies opening out upon the terraced gardens, where bloom the orange the myrtle and the oleander; its sparkling fountains and shady grottos, washed by the deep blue sea and canopied by the equally deep blue sky. All these denote the spot to have been in former times occupied by one—justly or unjustly—raised above his fellow-men. It is rarely that virtues are so combined in one man as they were in the brave master of this palace—Andrea Doria. A single line beneath the windows states that its illustrious founder served as admiral under the government of Pope Clement VII., of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, of the King

Francis the First and of his own iron republic. Noble, patriotic man, well may thy memory be cherished in the land of thy birth!

One summer's evening, in the year 1528, the inhabitants of Genoa were seen hurrying down to the port with countenances expressive of mingled hope fear and curiosity—some galleys were approaching the bay, and on them every eye was fixed. To know under whose flag they sailed, and on what purpose they were bound, was the general desire; for it was a time of war, and none knew how soon their fair city might be involved in its horrors, and become the prize of the conqueror. The suspense, however, did not long continue; an old sailor who, shading his eyes with his hand, had long and intently been gazing forward, at length proclaimed them to be the Admiral's galleys returning from Naples. The multitude anxiously inquired as to the possibility of mistake. "*Am I sure of it?*" was the old man's reply; "who knows them better than I, who have served so long under our brave admiral? See," said he, pointing towards the admiral's boat, "there is the flag of victory—another conquest, fresh glory to Doria and the republic." So it proved to be, the galleys were just returning, crowned with new laurels from a victory gained by Doria over the Spaniards. The Spanish viceroy was killed, his fleet dispersed, and the Marquis del Guasto amongst the many noble prisoners captured. This time the Genoese admiral was fighting for Francis the First against Charles the Fifth, and the French were besieging Naples. But although upon the present occasion

Doria rendered equal service to his royal patron, Francis was as unstable as Doria was true—jealousy was rank at court, and the time was not far distant when Francis sought cause against the admiral, and endeavoured to heap injuries upon him.



## CHAPTER XXXIII.

Treachery of Francis I.—Indignation of Doria—Doria and the Marquis del Guasto—Doria offers his services to Charles V.—His terms with the Emperor—He enters Genoa in triumph—The crown offered to him—He declines it—The republic remodelled—Character of Doria—His advice to Charles V.—The emperor rejects it—Defeat of the expedition to Algiers.

THE King of France had privately instructed Barbesieux to arrest Doria and seize upon his galleys, and the latter was on his way to execute this commission, when a stanch friend of Doria's apprized him of the treachery in store. "Arrest me," exclaimed the astonished admiral, "and seize my galleys! Impossible!" But the warning was only too true. Doria's words and actions had been misconstrued, and Francis was filled with distrust and suspicion. Happily, the admiral had means and opportunities of escape. "They will come on a bootless errand," exclaimed Doria; "for the present I retire to the Gulf of La Spergin, but soon they shall hear of me again—sooner, perhaps, than they may desire." When the French fleet, early next morning, anchored in the Bay of Genoa, Doria and his galleys were beyond its reach; but great was the indignation of the Genoese, and loudly they inveighed against King Francis and his ministers, that their brave countryman should be suspected—

he, who was a pattern of truthfulness, fidelity, and honour—this was an injury scarcely to be endured. They disliked the French more and more, and earnestly desired to be rid of their yoke. Doria, fired by the indignity offered to him, sent for his nephew, Tellesseneo, to join him with his galleys from Naples; and, while his resentment was at its height, the Marquis del Guasto, who had been taken prisoner in the late affair at Naples, and who had carefully watched a favourable moment to work upon the feelings of the irritated admiral, fomented his growing discontent, and earnestly pressed him to enter the service of Charles the Fifth, the marquis' royal master. "*The King of France has, indeed, treated you most unworthily,*" he observed one day, as Doria sat in silence by his side; "*you surely will not remain in his service any longer?*"

"*He has treated me badly, but my country yet worse,*" replied Doria. "*I see no hope for poor Genoa.*"

"The emperor would never have acted thus towards a faithful ally," insinuated the marquis. "*There is hope for your country, brave Doria, if you will trust him.*" Andrea looked up with surprise. "Yes, offer your services to Charles," continued the marquis, "and you will never have cause to regret the act—he is a princely master and a true friend. Aided by him, you will deliver Genoa from French oppression. For the sake of your country seek the protection of one able and willing to serve her."

"And will Charles secure her safety, and independence?" demanded Doria.

"Undoubtedly" — was the ready reply of the Spanish noble. "Propose your own terms to him, I can vouch for his reply."

"I will do as you desire," answered Doria, after a pause of some few minutes; "*France has cast me off by her unjust treatment.* I owe her nothing; but Genoa must have the powerful protection of one or the other of the rival monarchs—my lot is cast, and to the emperor will I apply." He did apply; and the emperor could hardly restrain his delight at the offer of so valuable a servant. Fully sensible of the importance of such an acquisition, he granted Doria whatever terms he required. These were, that Genoa, as soon as freed from the French, should be restored to its independence under the imperial protection, and that no foreign garrison or government should be admitted into it. At the same time, Doria engaged to serve the emperor with twelve galleys fitted out by himself, for which Charles agreed to pay him yearly ninety thousand ducats. Doria divested himself of the collar of St. Michael, which, together with the commission conferred upon him by Francis, he returned to that prince, saying, as he saw the messenger depart, "*It is thine own doing, fair king; thou hast cast from thee one who was thy faithful friend.*" Then, immediately hoisting the imperial colours, he sailed with all his galleys towards Naples; not as formerly—to block up the harbour of that unhappy city, but to bring protection and deliverance to the perishing inhabitants. A very short time afterwards, appearing before Genoa with his little squadron, he obtained possession of that city, and, after

a sharp contest, succeeded in driving the French away. It was a proud and happy hour for the admiral when his countrymen, with grateful acclamations, hailed Andrea Doria as their deliverer. He had attained the highest object of his earthly ambition—he had freed Genoa from foreign dominion. No sooner had he achieved this victory than there ensued a public demonstration in his favour. The Genoese formed a triumphant procession; and, while the streets echoed with the sound of their deliverer's honoured name, a deputation of the richest and noblest of the citizens entreated him, in the name of them all, to accept of the sovereignty of Genoa. "You have an undoubted right to it," they said; "you have freed our country—you have restored peace and liberty: rule, then, over us, and protect us still;—the fame of your former actions, your present glorious success, the love of your friends, the gratitude of your countrymen, and the support of the emperor, all combine to prove you worthy the sovereignty of Genoa. Accept it, then, from your country."

Doria was deeply touched:—it was only on the previous day that Charles himself, struck with the veteran's gallantry, had offered to establish him on the throne of his country. All conspired in inviting him to lay hold of kingly power; but, with a magnanimity of which there are but few examples, this true patriot sacrificed all thought of self to the virtuous satisfaction of establishing liberty in his native land—the highest object at which a just ambition can aim.

"My friends," said this noble-hearted and disin-

terested patriot, "the happiness of seeing you once more in possession of freedom, is to me a full reward for all my services; and the name of citizen is infinitely dearer to Andrea Doria than would be the proudest titles upon earth. Far be it from me to claim pre-eminence or power above my countrymen; I am one of you, and to you do I entirely remit the right of settling what form of government you would now have established in Genoa." With loud acclamations and tears of joy the people listened to this speech, the sincerity of which none for an instant doubted; and, much as they had always loved and respected the brave and good Doria, their affection for him was now tenfold increased. They had nothing to urge—they dared not strive to turn him from his high resolve; but all invoked blessings upon their deliverer as the assembly dispersed.

Twelve persons were then appointed to remodel the constitution of the republic; the factions which had long distracted the state seemed to have been mutually forgotten, and measures were taken to prevent their revival. The form of government which since that period has subsisted in Genoa with very little variation, was established amidst universal applause. Doria lived to a great age, beloved and honoured by his countrymen; and, without deviating from his simple straightforward conduct or assuming any power unbecoming a private citizen, he preserved a great ascendancy over the councils of the republic. The authority which he possessed was more flattering, as well as more satisfactory, than that derived from sovereignty; for it was founded on love and gratitude, and upheld,

not by the dread of his power but by veneration for his virtues. His memory is still revered by the Genoese, and he is distinguished in their histories and acts by the most honourable of all appellations—The Father of his country, and the Restorer of its liberty.

Such is a brief sketch of the life of this brave and virtuous man, which we have here quoted from, because he was rendered illustrious by his many victories over the Turks and Barbary pirates, when admiral to Charles the Fifth, and commanded the fleet during that unhappy crusade against the Algerines, which, as we have already seen, had been deprecated by himself and by the pope. The emperor, however, set high value on his services, and ever treated him with distinction and regard. In voyages from one part of his extensive dominions to another, it was usually Doria's galley which conveyed the emperor; and twice the admiral entertained the emperor in his palace at Genoa.

In Charles's expedition against Tunis, it was Doria who escorted him, and who mainly contributed to its successful issue. But when Charles proposed an attack upon Algiers, the experienced old sailor endeavoured to dissuade him from it. "Do not, I entreat your majesty," he said, "expose your whole armament to almost unavoidable destruction. The coast of Algiers is most dangerous at this advanced season. Let me implore your majesty to delay the expedition for a time."

"Why, Doria, this is unlike you," said Charles; "you are not wont to be backward in such enterprises, neither are you customarily afraid of a few

gales. Here are 20,000 foot, and 2000 horse, together with three thousand volunteers—the flower of the Spanish and Italian nobility, and 1000 soldiers from Malta, led by a hundred of the gallant knights of St. John, all eager to share in my glory. Now, then, can you bid me desist?”

“On account of the danger which I foresee,” replied the admiral; “the autumnal winds prevail with such violence at this season on that perilous coast. I am an old sailor, sire, well acquainted with the sea in all its moods, and you know that I am no coward; but I have many fears concerning this expedition.”

“And I have none,” replied the emperor; “so, good Doria, we go on board your galleys in the course of two or three weeks: you will be in readiness?”

“I will,” was the reply; “since your majesty is resolved. Andrea Doria is not the man to remain behind.”

The imperial mandate was issued—the dearly-bought lessons of sage experience were set at nought—and the expedition embarked; and the results but too fully justified Doria’s prediction. Storms of no common violence raged along the Mediterranean, weakening and scattering the imperial fleet. But the resolution of Charles was not to be overcome by counsellings or by misfortunes; the fleets proceeded to the African coast, and the forces were duly landed at Algiers. “Numerical force and military skill,” says a distinguished writer, “do not always determine the fate of war.” The army of the Algerine governors, had untoward circumstances not inter-

vened, would have been utterly destroyed ; and the nest of pirates and freebooters have been cut off. The vessels of the Christian merchants would have been safe from the attacks of Hayradan's followers. Had the emperor deferred to the wise and honest advice of Doria, all these benefits would at their due season have been the result.



## CHAPTER XXXIV.

**Misfortunes of Charles the Fifth's army—Sufferings from heat—  
Distress of the troops—Their refreshment—March of the  
army—Violent storm—Danger of the soldiers—Dismay of  
Charles V.—Destruction of the fleet—Attack of the Arabs—  
Narrative of Doria—Retreat of the army—Their disasters  
and great loss.**

IF the sufferings of the Christian army under Charles had been intense during their voyage, these were slight in comparison with the horrors that met their landing on the inhospitable and sultry shores of Algiers. Hitherto the galleys tossed to and fro upon a tempestuous ocean, had, at least, afforded shelter from the intense heat of the sun—from the copious dews and violent showers that fell at that season during the night; they had, moreover, rest for their limbs, a hard but dry couch, one on which they might at least repose, however fierce were the elements, secure from blood-thirsty enemies. But when they had once set foot on the African shore, they had a fearful combination of evils to contend withal. Wearied and exhausted from the effects of sea-sickness, and a long, cramped and dangerous voyage, these brave Christians needed a few hours', if not a few days', repose, ere they could resist, much less attack the foe whom they had come thus far to

encounter. But this respite was impossible. Drawn up under a broiling sun upon a beach whose every sand glittered in the sun's rays, whilst the glare from the now smooth ocean seared, as with a burning glass, their unaccustomed brows, they leaned wearily upon their lances till the whole force had been disembarked; through many long hours of an intolerably hot day, thirst was not their least agony, occasioned partly by their sufferings upon the voyage—partly by the intense sultriness of the day, and the minute particles of sand and dust which were blown into their eyes and nostrils and mouths. Under all this torment the soldiers held out bravely. Charles was there in person to cheer their fainting spirits; and the iron rule of discipline never for a moment failed with these Europeans, who had quitted their native soil to conquer or perish in the cause of humanity. They were not, however, unprovided with the requisites of a camp; so soon as the military stores had been landed, (but with the inconveniences then existing this operation must have occupied many painful hours), the weary forces seated themselves upon the beach-side, and partook of such cheer as their mess stores provided. Meanwhile, foraging parties had returned, with the gratifying intelligence of water in the immediate neighbourhood. Hither the troops repaired: and who can tell their ecstasy when they rushed towards the precious element and slaked their devouring thirst, and cooled their fevered brows by sprinkling it liberally over their heads? These were not indulgences likely to keep away ague and fever from

the strangers, who, impatient of consequences, sought to allay an immediate want; but when they had reposed awhile—when their frames were invigorated with food—when the cool stream had quenched, for a time, their fevered blood—they began to forget the hardships which they had only just undergone of tempest, sickness, hunger, and thirst. The prospect of triumph had banished alike the past suffering and the future hazard; cheerfully they talked of gallant deeds done, and yet to be done—the laugh the shout and the song proclaimed that courage and enterprise were revived in their hearts, and ere that day's sun had descended into the west, the whole army were marching towards the city of Algiers. Everything that evening seemed to the emperor to promise success. The sun was setting mildly, the waters of the ocean were calm as a lake, and the evening breeze, laden with fragrance from whole fields of cuscuss and other aromatic herbs, blew revivingly through the Christian ranks, strung their sinews afresh, and carried their exulting shouts over the strongly-walled city of Algiers, and into the very mosques of the foe—who could reckon little upon their own prowess or courage; for these Algerines, as cruelly-hearted men generally are, were dastards at heart and had little confidence or expectation of victory.

Barely had the sun disappeared when clouds rose rapidly in the horizon; and, almost before the change had been perceived either by the invaders or the invaded, the sky was covered with a thick pall, while the evening breeze had gradually

increased in strength; subsiding at brief intervals, but then returning with gradually increased violence. Presently the rain began to fall in heavy drops, and, as a blast of wind arose loud and fierce, the windows of heaven were opened, and overwhelming torrents fell upon the heads of the shelterless invaders: not that tent or canopy could have been to them of any use: and so violent were the gusts of wind, so heavy was the rain, that the soldiers, already more than ankle deep in mud and sand, were compelled to drive their spears forcibly into the earth, that, clinging thereto, they might support themselves against the fierce gusts that threatened momentarily to sweep them from the face of the earth. Scarcely a minute of that long and terrible night elapsed between the reiterated flashes of the forked lightning, followed by the most deafening peals of thunder. Theirs was, indeed, a pitiable lot; attacked on all sides, and from above and below. Behind them the angry sea momentarily threatened to inundate the plain and overwhelm them with its waves; before them, securely sheltered by roofs and houses, was an implacable foe, who might as momentarily issue forth and take instant vengeance upon their dispirited and now wholly defenceless invaders; above them the elements seemed combined for their destruction; and beneath their very feet the saturated earth seemed sinking under their weight, while broken shells and sharp-pointed pebbles and sand were lacerating their feet. Such was the dreadful position of Charles's army on this fearful and memorable night; and as, in addition to sharing in their bodily sufferings, the emperor had to contend against the

reproaches of his conscience—the dark finger of repentance pointing at all this accumulated misery—this devastation of human life, brought about by his vanity and obstinacy—what must have been his reflections! Bold and generous as he was, the more poignant must have been his sufferings. Every groan or sigh of that afflicted multitude must have fallen like molten lead upon his soul. Still the intense darkness had contributed in concealing from his gaze the fearful extent of havoc which had resulted from his rejection of Doria's timely counsel. The darker mantle of night was now being cast aside and light gradually pierced the veil which the storm had cast round the horizon. It was then that the whole horror of the scene presented itself to the rash monarch, and extinguished the last spark of hope for succour in the breasts of his army; far as their gaze could reach seaward the ocean presented one mass of foam, roaring wildly against the rock-girded coast, and flinging its scattered fragments a hundred yards up in the early sunlight. Of the ships that had brought them, and to which in this hour of need they had expected to return, not one, where they had last evening been safely at anchor, was visible: but as their anxious gaze swept the horizon, or rested on the fatal rocks and the foam-washed beach, then, indeed, was their cup of bitterness full to overflowing. The ships on which their safety and subsistence depended had disappeared from the ocean! In that fearful gale all had been driven from their anchors—some had dashed against each other—others had sunk at their moorings, and others again had been hurled against

the rocks and the sandy beach ; fragments of these latter, and wrecks of noble ships, were beheld as the first rays of the morning shone mockingly on the scene of desolation.

Almost simultaneously the Arabs made an onslaught upon the shipwrecked mariners and equally destitute soldiers. Charles, however, even in this hour of despair, had not lost heart ; he rallied his worn-out followers, and resisted, as far as in him lay, the fierce attack of these ferocious freebooters. "*I have weathered not a few storms during my life,*" was the remark of old Doria on this eventful morning ; "*but never have I seen one equal to this—the sea rose mountains high, the wind blew with terrific violence, the ships, all torn from their anchorage, were dashing, some against each other, some on the rocks ; some ran ashore, and many sank ; in less than an hour fifteen ships of war and one hundred and forty transports were destroyed, whilst upwards of eight thousand brave and faithful soldiers perished in that troubled ocean.*"

Such was the account given by Doria himself : and we may conclude this unhappy scene by quoting his narration, how the crest-fallen emperor and his army escaped from its fatal shore.

"Such of the unhappy crews as survived the fury of the waves were slain without mercy by the Arabs so soon as they reached the land. All the vast stores and provisions which the emperor had provided were swallowed up by the waves. On shore the ground was too wet to admit of the soldiers seeking any rest by seating themselves, and at every step they sank up to their ankles in mud. Dispirited

and benumbed with cold, their matches extinguished, their powder damped—so that their firelocks were useless—these men were in no condition to meet the enemy, and were soon thrown into confusion; but the presence of the emperor restored order, and saved the army from utter destruction. The storm had been such as to cut off all communication between the shipping and the shore; Doria had no possible means of sending the emperor intelligence as to the actual condition of the fleet—so that this latter, for twenty-six hours, remained in all the agony of suspense. Next day Doria dispatched a boat, manned by some of his boldest sailors, who made shift to reach the coast and open a communication with the emperor. This message they bore from the admiral—that, during his fifty years' experience of the sea, never had he encountered such a hurricane, and that he found it absolutely necessary to bear away with the shattered remnants of his squadron to Cape Metafuz, to which place he entreated the emperor to march with all convenient speed and re-embark his troops. This message, added to the perilous position of the army, induced the emperor to follow the advice of his admiral, and inspired the worn-out soldiers with almost supernatural energies; but a terrible march it was—worn out with fatigue, and perishing from famine and thirst, the brave fellows could barely support the weight of their arms, and many a one sank exhausted to the earth, and was there left, to choose between two terrible deaths—either to meet the cruelties which the pursuing Arabs would afterwards inflict upon them, or to die a lingering

end on those arid plains. The roads were almost impassable—the brooks so swollen by the rains that, in some places, the men had to wade through them up to their chins; their only food consisted of the flesh of their horses, killed by order of the emperor; and, to aggravate their suffering, the Arabs were following in their track, and continually picking off stragglers or harassing their rear-guard. At length, after almost insuperable difficulties, the remnant of this brave army, a few days previously composed of the flower of the nobility and gentry of Europe, reached Cape Metafuz, and were there embarked in the admiral's galleys, and reconveyed without further mishap to their native shores. The emperor, during all this disastrous retreat, displayed a magnanimous spirit, mingled with so much humility and forbearance, that the brave old Doria, in recounting these disastrous events in after years, said, "*I loved and honoured him so much for the great qualities he then manifested, that I almost forgave him his obstinacy in undertaking the rash and presumptuous expedition which involved such a fearful loss of life.*"

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